Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-96-078 *22 April 1996*

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Balkans: IPU Conference Discusses Balkans, Other Issues

LD1904172896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 19 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—Lasting peace and stability in the Balkans are impossible without the equal status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which implies that international sanctions should be immediately and unconditionally lifted and that it should be fully reintegrated in all organizations and institutions of the world community.

This was underscored in the general debate on the political, economic, and social situation in the world at the 95th conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in Istanbul by Yugoslav National Group President Milos Radulovic.

The IPU conference, which ends on Saturday after five days of work, rallied 615 MPs from 116 countries, the Yugoslav Parliament's Information Service said.

Dr. Radulovic, president of the Chamber of Citizens of the bicameral Yugoslav Parliament, presented also the stands of official Belgrade regarding the establishment of lasting peace in former Yugoslavia on the grounds of the complete and due implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords, with equal treatment of all sides.

The IPU Committee for Political Affairs, International Security, and Disarmament, which considered the protection of minorities as a global issue and a precondition for stability, security, and peace, heard also Yugoslav Group Vice-President Goran Percevic who presented the high goals achieved by Yugoslavia in this area.

Percevic said the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was against abuse of human rights, use of articles on rights of ethnic minorities as instruments, their unprincipled use as a means of political pressure on a certain country.

He also said human rights, as well as minority rights, could be fully realized only in conditions of peace and economic and social development.

The IPU Committee for Education, Science, Culture, and Environment discussed problems of preserving the world's fish resources, so as to secure an important source of proteins, and the development and economic stability of the fish industry throughout the world.

On behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, Vojin Lazarevic, a deputy in the Chamber of Republics, said it was imperative that the international community take immediate and resolute action and measures to prevent excessive exploitation of seas and oceans, illegal fishing in foreign waters, and disrespect of set quotas and international regulations in this area.

At the proposal of the Egyptian delegation, the IPU conference agenda included as an additional item the issue of terrorism—which threatens international peace and stability—and the need to take decisive measures at national and international levels to prevent terrorist actions in all countries of the world.

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Albania: Man With Bomb Arrested Near Berisha, Scalfaro Meeting

AU1904141496 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A very unusual and shocking event happened in front of the Presidency just as the talks between President Berisha and Italian President Scalfaro ended.

A person holding a bomb that was about to explode threatened that he would throw it at the very moment when the Italian delegation would leave the building. The special forces intervened, managing to neutralize the terrorist in less than an hour.

Deputy Interior Minister Agim Shehu told journalists that the person is thought to be mentally ill, and, according to Shehu, his actions throughout the whole period and his attempts to explode the bomb were not normal. Anyway, more precise explanations will be provided after the investigations, which started immediately.

Albania: Threats by 'Madman' Against President Detailed

AU2004160396 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 20 Apr 96 p 2

[FBIS Summary] Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian on 20 April carries on page 2 a 600-word report by Arben Vata, entitled "Human Bomb Threatens Berisha," which describes an incident during Italian President Scalfaro's visit to Tirana on 19 April, in which a 32-year-old "lunatic" named Ilir Buza, from the village of Mazhe near Fushe Kruje, made threats and demanded a meeting with President Berisha.

The report states: "He wanted to meet Berisha to ask him for 20 million old leks, or he would otherwise throw his hand grenade into the building of the Presidency, where the Albanian and Italian heads of state were about to emerge from an official meeting." He fell victim, however, to a "brilliant" operation by the police, who brought everything to an end within 70 minutes.

The report continues: "At 1345 [1145 GMT] yesterday Buza appeared on the part of the boulevard that divides the Palace of Congresses from the Presidency. He shouted that he wanted a meeting immediately, while holding in his hand a grenade with its pin about to be lifted, ready to explode at any moment."

Zyhdi Dajti, commander of the Presidential Guards security force, is reported as saying: "He kept on demanding $20,000, and said he had some ideas about politics."

The report continues: "The police fired twice into the air, and let three sharpshooters pass in front of the man who was issuing threats, positioning them at points commanding the square in front of the Presidency. They also brought in dozens of police with bullet-proof vests, but the terrorist was not scared. It is not known how events would have proceeded, nor what the consequences of Buza's crazy game might been, had not his attention been drawn from behind by a knock on a window. This was the moment when he was deceived, and the commander of Unit 88, Vasillaq Soto, oblivious to the peril to his life, grasped Buza's death-dealing hand. Dozens of policemen then seized him, and he was escorted to the police station. Immediately after the incident, the authorities announced that it was a case of a madman, and denied any possible connection with Scalfaro's visit, while leaving the field free for the endless rumors and hypotheses that spread with astonishing speed through Tirana's streets and cafes."

Albania: Berisha, Scalfaro Consider Visit 'Important'

AU2004170696 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Apr 96

[Report by Vjollca Vokshi]

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha and Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro are meeting each other officially for the third time, this time at a delicate and important moment for both Albania and Italy. The well-known Italian support for Albania assumes a new confirmation at top level only five weeks before the political elections in our country. This time Scalfaro visits as the chairman of the state heading the EU's rotating presidency. Scalfaro is accompanied by a reinforced group of Italian media including teams from three Italian radio and television networks, and correspondents from CORRIERE DELA SERA, LA STAMPA, REPUBLICA, UNITA, and the ANSA news agency.

At the seat of the presidency the chairmen of these two states with common geography and history, leading their respective delegations, discussed the most important issues, both at a bilateral and multilateral level. After the meeting, Berisha and Scalfaro gave the following statements for the media:

[Begin Berisha recording] I would like once again to express my deep gratitude and thanks to President Scalfaro, a great and distinguished friend of Albania and Albanians, for the profound friendship he has demonstrated to Albania and Albanians in this period of establishing a law-governed state and democracy, as well as for his historic contribution to setting up

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and renewing the friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries, which has deep historic roots. At the same time I would like on this occasion to thank the Italian Government, institutions, and citizens for the great and noble assistance and great and friendly solidarity they have shown to Albania during this period in the political, economic, educational, medical, and military fields. All this is, however, preceded by the human field. Italian citizens have come to Albania and have helped Albanians everywhere in the country. They have worked together with them, thus rendering their important and primary contribution to all the achievements and changes that we have accomplished during these four years.

I think President Scalfaro's visit is not only an analysis of what we have achieved, but a new chapter, a new page in the friendship and cooperation between our two countries, a friendship and cooperation that has an excellent future.

With President Scalfaro we discussed expanding cooperation in the political field. We decided to enhance consultations on bilateral, multilateral, and regional problems. Italy has rendered great assistance to Albania in its integration into Europe.

Mrs. Agnelli and the Italian Presidency have been intensively engaged in achieving an associate cooperation agreement with the European Union. President Scalfaro assured me that the Italian Government would continue to work intensively on this agreement, which Albania deserves.

We also discussed economic cooperation, as well as a future broad cooperation agreement for assistance in infrastructure, education, health service, and cooperation in the military and all other fields.

However, an important place will be occupied by the agreement on the movement of people. We are determined to sign an agreement with the Italian Government, and assure our neighbor that we will cooperate closely in disciplining the movements of people. The Italian Government is committed to accepting Albanian seasonal workers in Italy, as well as to studying the possibility of opening consulates in Durres and Vlore in order to expand the process of issuing visas.

We also agreed to hold regular consultations on the situation in the region. In our discussions, the situation in the region occupied a special place. We voiced our concern and our opinions concerning a solution to the Kosova issue and the great importance this problem has.

President Scalfaro and the Italian Government are deeply concerned, and think that Serbia's integration, and that of the region in general, into Europe should include respect for the agreements signed by the Balkan countries, as well as respect for the human and national rights and freedoms of the citizens of these countries.

I can say that this was a brief, very intensive, and friendly visit, but with important and concrete results. I would like once again to thank this great and distinguished friend of Albania and of myself personally for this visit. [end recording]

[Begin Scalfaro recording] The president of the people and of the friendly land of Albania has said everything. To someone who asked me this morning, I replied that it was a fraternal visit. However, I would like to tell you personally, by expressing once again my friendship, and that of the Italian Government and people, what emotions I felt this morning, thinking of my first visit here. I remember it quite well, more than three years ago, when the first steps of revival had already begun to be felt, when unemployment had reached the limits of the unbelievable, resulting in a series of attempts by people who also became victims, who desired to reach the Italian coast by any means possible in order to find a way to make a living.

What did I see today? I had read and heard reports, but it is different to see it with your own eyes. I saw a railway under construction; there, among the mountains, a dam had been built; we went today to see a highway, a part of which we went through. We went to see how the water problem would be solved. The construction of a purification complex is also envisaged. This is a series of great works. Everywhere one could see new houses being built. The unemployment indices show a significant decrease. The currency, from a devaluation of 300 percent, has reached a 3.5 percent level. We cannot but admire the work of the president and the government, the deeds of these people. If Italy has been, is, and remains at the side of Albanians, it is a pleasure and an honor for us. It is an honor to participate in the reconstruction of this country, which because of the Marxist dictatorship suffered the most inhuman form of isolation.

I would like to tell you, dear president, that Albania needed a doctor, and it found it in you. This gives us great pleasure.

Now let me give you a short consideration on foreign policy. Albania knows that it has Italy on its side, and in these times the European Community as well, regarding the Kosova problem, a delicate issue. Kosova is populated 90 percent by Albanians who, as a natural right, should be accorded the right to ethnic, cultural, and historic attributes, without in any way discussing the question of borders. This is a right, and Italy supports that this human right be accorded its proper

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place. However, there is another important aspect to this vision, in that the Balkans have no need, after centuries of concerns and especially the last 10-year period, for targets that may again start up a fire. Kosova is one of these targets. Italy and Europe, as well the United States, are committed to solving this problem.

We also recalled the meeting of Balkan defense ministers, in which the U.S. secretary of defense participated, precisely to strengthen this warranty. Personally, I think that current policy, and particularly prospective policy, gives Albania a position as a point of assurance and calm in this turbulent area.

Regarding the Italian presence, I am happy that more than 500 Italian enterprises are present here, operating in the country. This will of course continue in the future as well.

I was impressed today when I spoke to a new Italian worker from Campobasso. When I asked him how he felt here, he told me that he felt quite well. He felt as if he were in his own land, in his own home. I was greatly impressed. I repeat again that humanity is the foundation of this friendship.

The caliber of all the Italians I have met in Albania is the best example of relations between the two countries. For this reason I confirm this visit as a commitment to other steps to be taken so that Albania is able to march on the European road. I want this to be accomplished during this three-month period. I repeat again that this is a friendly visit of fraternity.

Dear president, I would like to end my statement with best wishes for this human richness in the relations between the Italian and Albanian peoples. [end recording]

The lunch offered by President Berisha at the Palace of Brigades in Tirana confirmed once again for President Scalfaro the success of the visit by the Italian president to our country, as well as the common will to strengthen bilateral and multilateral corporation.

Albania: Commission Denies Decisions Swayed by Government

AU1904165796 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, the State Commission for Screening Official Figures rejected the reports published in the left-wing press that the commission has been swayed in its decisions on assessing the candidates' fitness.

In our work, we are dependent only on the law and no other state institution can intervene and make exceptions in the procedure for screening the candidates for deputies, a statement by the commission says.

According to the press, an analysis of the electoral system by the U.S. Democratic Institute contains many inaccuracies. Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi, Ministers Safet Zhulali and Agron Musaraj, as well as the National Information Service's Bashkim Gazidede can [word indistinct] make exceptions in the commission's decisions only when the fitness of the people working in the institutions they direct is being assessed. None of these functionaries can get involved in the commission's work when it is assessing the purity of politicians and officials who have decided to submit their candidature for the elections to be held by 2002.

The commission guarantees that, throughout its activity, it is completely dependent on the law, in which there is no clause to confirm that, in the procedure for verifying the deputies, the intervention of another state institution is considered legitimate.

The state commission has simultaneously expressed its surprise over the other assessment in this report that states that the commission members act [word indistinct] as a semijudicial body. On the basis of the law, in the case of candidates for deputies, only the Court of Cassation is entitled to this right, the statement by State Commission for Screening Official Figures concludes.

Albania: Socialists Seen Trying To Improve Image in U.S.

AU2204101296 Tirana DREJT in Albanian 21 Apr 96 p 3

[Editorial: "The Socialist Party in the United States, but the Democratic Party Still Preferred"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Socialist Party [PS] reported an extremely strong foreign-policy move this week, when it stated that a party delegation will visit the U.S. State Department. Party sources commented on this occasion that the United States' prejudices against the Socialists have been overcome. The delegation consisting of Servet Pellumbi, Kastriot Islami, Ilir Meta, and Anastas Angjeli will be received in Washington at the State Department, at the National Security Council, and perhaps by Clinton's adviser George Stefanopoulos at the White House. The Socialists, who have always been jealous of the Democratic Party's [PD] close relations with Washington, seem to be relieved by this invitation, which perhaps would not have come under other circumstances. When the Democrats came to power four years ago, U.S. Ambassador Ryerson openly declared his support for the PD, issuing an appeal not to vote

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for the Socialists. Relations between the PS and the United States then changed somewhat with the arrival of Ambassador Lake, who visited the Red headquarters after the referendum. Meanwhile, the meetings in Washington will serve as a way of getting acquainted with those whom a majority of the press is calling the future victors. All the PS positions connected with Nano, Kosovo, relations with the United States, and relations with neighboring countries and minorities will be explained at the meetings. The Socialists also have the advantage that neither Ryerson nor Chris Hill, two friends and great fans of Berisha, are now present in the State Department building. The first is enjoying his high diplomat's pension while writing his memoirs about Albania, while the second is far from Albania in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

Asked why this maneuver is taking place at precisely this time, the PS spokesman said that the Socialists are now on the threshold of victory, and the Americans understand this. Regardless of the Socialists' enthusiastic tones, nobody in Albania, perhaps including the Socialists themselves, imagines that the balance of U.S. favor is tilting away from the PD toward the PS. Washington continues to prefer the Democrats, while the Socialists have succeeded in neutralizing the phobia against them that used to exist in the United States. The Socialists are pleased even with this much, especially now as the campaign is about to begin and the fruits are ripe for the picking. Nevertheless, regardless of the success or failure of their tour in Washington, their consolation is that they will receive votes in Albania and not elsewhere.

Albania: Traders Determined To Persist in Strike Demands

AU2004182796 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Albanian traders from Prishtina [Pristina] continue their strike for the third week now. The strikers have announced that they will not give up their demands as long as the Serbian-installed administrators do not reduce the high taxes for their stalls. The strikers are also supported by Albanian citizens. [passage omitted]

The strike council calls on citizens not to fall into the trap of the Serbian Directorate of the Prishtina market, which is attempting to suspend the strike through various means.

The council has called on traders at the Ulpjana market to show solidarity with the strikers at the big market in Prishtina.

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Bulgaria: Kozloduy Reactor May Be Switched Off Early

AU1804100596 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 18 Apr 96 p 15

[Article by Irina Kuneva: "Are We Stopping Kozloduy's First Reactor Before 1 May?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On 17 April, Trifon Tsvetkov, executive director of the National Electricity Company, said that the first reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant could be stopped even prior to the date its permit expires. The reactor is permitted to operate until 15 May.

Our experts and Western experts are currently negotiating on compensation from the EU if we switch off the reactor ahead of schedule.

Nevertheless, the Western experts are pressing us to switch the reactor off by the end of April. If this is to happen, however, someone must compensate us for the loss of electric power and the unused fresh nuclear fuel, our power supply experts say. They decline to comment on the extent of our losses. The reactor will be stopped for an analysis of its metal coat. Thin layers will be shaved off six of the metal plates from its structure. The results will determine how much longer the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant's oldest reactor will function.

The EU's demand that the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant's four old reactors be stopped is one of the reasons for not signing the agreement on the second loan for our power supply system—"Energiya-2," members of the Power Supply Committee said. Bulgaria is expecting about $200 million from "Energiya-2." The agreement was supposed to be signed during the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] meeting in Sofia.

In addition to demanding the closure of the four old reactors, the Western countries are also pressing the National Electricity Company to purchase purifying equipment for the "Maritsa-East" Thermoelectric Power Plant. One such piece of equipment alone costs about $60 million, and its installation over the plant's already obsolete equipment would be unprofitable.

In the meantime, Romania yesterday started the first reactor of its Cernavoda Nuclear Power Plant. According to Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee on Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy, the equipment used by that nuclear power plant is new in Europe, and this is the first time that a reactor has been constructed in a seismic region such as the one around Cernavoda. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria: Romania's Reactor Worries Silistra Inhabitants

AU1904093596 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The commissioning of the Romanian Cernavoda Nuclear Reactor has increased social tension among the population of Danube Dobrudzha and especially the citizens of Silistra, a town located only 50 km from Cernavoda. Our correspondent Lyuben Antonov reports:

[Begin recording] We find ourselves in a real triangle of death—Kalarasi-Vrancea-Cernavoda. We do not expect anyone to think about us. The example of the ecogenocidal Kalarasi metallurgical plant convinced us that we can expect no help from anywhere. This is only a part of the accusations that now can be heard all over Silistra.

I must point out that the Silistra municipal authorities and the National Assembly members who represent the region are not indifferent to the new ecological threat that hovers over Silistra.

Deputy Vasil Kalinov has submitted a parliamentary question to the environment minister regarding the need to constantly monitor the radiation and guarantee the safety of the population in the area following the activation of the Cernavoda reactor. The same deputy has long been active on other environmental issues in the region.

Dr. Marin [?Paisev], member of the Silistra Municipal Council, is approaching various state authorities with the request that the environmental problems of the city of Dobrudzha be dealt with properly. [end recording]

Bulgaria: Armimex Regains License To Trade Arms

AU2204121096 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 20 Apr 96 p 4

[Staff report: "Videnov Restores Armimex Full Arms Trade License"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Cabinet Arms Trade Commission, headed by Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, on 19 April decided to restore the full license of Armimex to trade with specialized production. The company's license was revoked last fall, when only Kintex and Elmet Engineering were allowed to keep their licenses.

The Arms Trade Commission also decided to propose to the cabinet to stop the export of antipersonnel mines from Bulgaria. At the end of 1995, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution that declared a moratorium on the export of dangerous combat equipment.

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Bulgaria: Socialists Criticize Cabinet at Conferences

AU2204120696 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Apr 96 p 1

[DUMA PRESS report: "Socialists Criticize Cabinet Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our correspondents report that the cadre and information policy of the Democratic Left are among the most criticized aspects of party life at the municipal and regional accountability-election meetings of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The Socialists tend to understand the need of unpopular measures on the part of the government, but they are indignant because of the insufficient preliminary information regarding those measures and the subsequent unconvincing defense of the measures in the mass media.

Zhan Videnov thinks that not only the paucity of information, but also the lack of confidence and the subversive actions are aggravating the work of the cabinet and divert public opinion from real to imaginary problems. He spoke at Studentski District about the BSP's grave responsibilities. Enterprises that cause our society huge losses are about to go bankrupt, and reforms in the banking and social spheres are to be adopted. The tasks related to these matters are all unpleasant and could easily be described as nonsocialist. However, what alternative do we have, since during the four years of our mandate, we will have to pay half of the country's foreign debt, and when those payments are 10 percent of our gross national product? the speaker asked. The payments on the foreign and internal debts already eat most of the national budget. All this is a result of the inaction of some of the previous cabinets.

Videnov expressed his thanks for the "100 percent sincerity" of the Socialists, who directed their criticism at him, the Council of Ministers, the party leadership, and DUMA. Much of the dissatisfaction was based on the claim that the party's scientific and cadre potential is not being utilized. It was also claimed that the party leaders and the ministers have become out of reach for the ordinary party members. A few people are concentrating much power and many posts in their hands. Zhan Videnov has isolated himself and does not tolerate criticism. Faceless and unconvincing speakers most often speak on behalf of the BSP on the national television. DUMA supplies poor information and reflects an ever shrinking circle of opinions. If this is a result of poor cooperation between the BSP Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers, then it must be corrected.

Nikolay Lekov, chairman of the district party council, summarized the opinions of the basic organizations and pointed out that DUMA and the BSP Supreme Council have no quarrel and, therefore, they should improve their cooperation.

The Stara Zagora Socialists think that winning the presidential elections is a prime political task for the BSP. At their accountability-election conference, they criticized the calm of the ruling leftist forces and pointed out that 1996 will be the year of truth in the BSP's rule.

The Veliko Turnovo Socialists also link a victory in the presidential elections to the efficiency of the Democratic Left's rule and demand a categorical turning point in this rule.

The Plovdiv Socialists are seriously concerned about the cabinet's low-quality information policy and the disregard for the interest clubs when the cardinal problems of our economy, culture, and science are being resolved. At the conference of Central District, it was pointed out that a serious disappointment has settled in regarding the cabinet's hesitant policy, not only among the supporters, but also among the BSP members.

Nikolay Dobrev announced in Smolyan that, in the near future, the BSP will publish two information bulletins—DIALOGUE and EXPRESS—in an attempt to let its voice be heard better.

Bulgaria: Local BSP Groups Want Pirinski as Candidate

AU2204113696 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Apr 96 p 1

["DUMA PRESS" report: "Videnov Prefers a Strong President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] expects of its presidential candidate that he should be a strong force able to win the elections, have the will to apply this force, and possess the sense of responsibility to remain true to himself and to this impulse after the elections as well. Zhan Videnov made this statement on 20 April at the accountability-election conference of the BSP organization in Sofia's Studentski District. He rejected insinuations that the BSP candidate would be a compromise figure as a result of the inner party clashes or an attempt to seek a balance within the party.

The BSP wants to win these elections not because it cannot work in opposition, without a monopoly over power, but because institutions like the presidency should not become part of the opposition. The current president has become a symbol of just this, and therefore must be replaced, Videnov declared.

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From the results of a poll conducted among the party's supporters, it became clear that Georgi Pirinski is the preferred BSP candidate in the Studentski District. His name was entered on 175 of the total of 267 inquiry forms sent out to 46 basic organizations. The second most popular candidate is Blagovest Sendov, who was named on 94 forms, followed by Aleksandur Lilov, who was mentioned 75 times, Nikolay Kamov (60), Yordan Shkolagerski (32), Elena Poptodorova (31), and so forth. One returned form even proposed a duo of journalist observers—Toma Tomov and Dimitri Ivanov.

At the accountability-election conference held in Smolyan, Nikolay Dobrev announced that 30 presidential candidates have been proposed so far by the municipal BSP organizations.

In Stara Zagora, Aleksandur Lilov categorically refused to allow the forum discuss his candidature or to include him in any kind of procedure in this respect. In Lilov's opinion, Georgi Pirinski is a strong candidate. After him, Lilov also mentioned the names of Blagovest Sendov, Nikolay Kamov, and Nikolay Genchev as strong personalities.

The conference in Pleven proposed to the BSP Supreme Council that the BSP candidate should be a Socialist and a strong personality. The name most frequently mentioned in the speeches was that of Georgi Pirinski. The delegates at the conference in the town of Levski also rallied around him.

In Kurdzhali, 80 percent of those asked want Georgi Pirinski to be the Left's president. In Smolyan, the party members want the candidate to be from the Democratic Left. The municipal conferences in Nedelino, Madan, and Rudozem also proposed Pirinski, as did the delegates at the party conferences in Karnobat, Sungurlare, Tsarevo, Lesichovo, Strelcha, and Vurshets.

In the Pirin region, the party members also support Pirinski; this became clear from the conferences held in Bansko, Kresna, and Khadzhidimovo.

At the accountability conference in Sofia's Mladost District, Doncho Konakchiev said that Pirinski may create a problem for the BSP because he was born in the United States. For this reason, the Socialists from Sofia's Iskur District recommend that the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group refer the matter to the Constitutional Court. At the recommendation of the accountability conference held in Turgovishte, Deputy Valentina Georgieva has prepared a submission and is collecting signatures. However, at the meeting of the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group last night it was decided that the group's lawyers and experts should first investigate all the circumstances and determine whether a problem exists, then a decision will be made on whether to consult the Constitutional Court.

Bulgaria: Anti-Pirinski Campaign Inside BSP Observed

AU1904132496 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19 Apr 96 p 16

[Commentary by Genka Markova: "Is Pirinski Not Wanted?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently, more voices are being raised within the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] leadership in attempts to exert some kind of pressure on the BSP electorate in connection with Pirinski's likely presidential candidature. For example, only the other day, an ideologist of the rank of Valentin Vatsev, who in most cases expresses the views of members of the circle close to party leader Videnov, made a statement in which he equated Pirinski's candidature with that of Andrey Lukanov. This was not merely a gratuitous sally, but one of the ways in which Pirinski can be attacked.

At the same time, yet another pseudoproblem has cropped up concerning the present foreign minister in his role of a potential presidential candidate. It is the fact that he was born in the United States, and any doubts on whether he possesses U.S. nationality will be exploited if needed against him.

It is curious that Pirinski and no other has provoked such early torments in the leading circles of the BSP. It would be logical for the Socialists to nominate such a figure, who has every chance not only among the BSP electorate, but also among the nonvoters who make up a big percentage of the Bulgarian electorate and who may well have the final say at the last moment. However, it appears that strong and distinctive personalities are not wanted on the Bulgarian political scene, not least because they are difficult to manipulate. Such figures will certainly not agree to be like the faceless yes-men who currently dominate our political landscape.

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Czech Republic: Minister Condemns Israeli Attacks in Lebanon

LD1904173396 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec today expressed the Czech Republic's reaction to the conflict between Israel and Lebanon.

[Begin Zieleniec recording] The Czech Republic recognizes Israel's right to a safe existence. We are also aware of how much Israel has suffered from the rocket attacks [launched] from the territory of northern [as heard] Lebanon.

On the other hand, we can imagine only with great difficulty the political or security reasons that can justify such massive attacks against the civilian population, that can justify such a great number of victims among the civilian population in southern Lebanon as well as victims among the UN personnel.

The whole conflict shows that there will be no peace in this region until all agree on a complex solution, until all sides agree that peace is the only solution in this region. This applies to those who are firing rockets on the territory of Israel, those who pay them, and those who are deploying weapons near the camps with civilian populations. This also applies to those who are firing rockets at these camps. [end recording]

Czech Republic: Demostration Before Chinese Minister's Visit

LD2004195196 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Quian Qichen, Chinese foreign minister and deputy chairman of the State Council, will arrive in Prague tonight for a three-day visit. Tomorrow the Chinese foreign minister will meet not only his Czech counterpart, Josef Zieleniec, but also Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, and he will be received by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus. On 22 April, Quian Qichen will hold talks with President Vaclav Havel, who in this context said that he would openly tell the foreign minister several things the minister might not enjoy hearing.

Before the visit by the Chinese foreign minister, a demonstration took place in Prague today against the violation of human rights in China and Tibet. Ilona Diensthierova reports:

[Diensthierova] "Free political prisoners!" and "China—Country of political prisoners" are some of the slogans heard at this demonstration. Some hundred people gathered in front of the Czech Foreign Ministry at Loretanske Square. Stanislav Penc, from the Movement of Civic Solidarity and Tolerance, spoke to Prague Radio about the reasons for the demonstration:

[Begin Penc recording] We will be satisfied once our officials protest against the violation of human rights in China and Tibet. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: Klaus, Chinese Minister Discuss Cooperation

LD2104210296 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech prime minister met Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Prerov this evening. Jana Zemkova from Czech Radio's studio Olomouc reports:

[Zemkova] Their one-hour talks took place behind closed doors. After the talks, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said that the Czech Government was eminently interested in cooperation with China, above all in the economic and social sphere, in culture and education—despite different views on some issues of foreign and internal political affairs.

The Chinese foreign minister said that different views had sprung from the different traditions and cultures of the two countries. Asked by Vaclav Klaus whether the Chinese are aware of the Czech Republic, he said that, after more than 90 years of cooperation, the Chinese linked the Czech Republic to traditional brand names such as the Skoda works, the Tesla company, the Tatra works, and Bata.

On its arrival in Prerov, the Chinese delegation was met by HOST [Movement of Civic Solidarity and Tolerance] members, who protested against the violation of human rights, torture, and political violence in China.

Czech Republic: PRC's Qian Qichen, Zieleniec Hold Talks

LD2104104196 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen continues his official visit to the Czech Republic. He met his Czech counterpart, Josef Zieleniec, this morning. The two ministers discussed issues of joint interest and bilateral relations with regard to economic issues.

The Chinese guest will meet Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy as well as representatives of Czech trade circles this afternoon. Qian Qichen is to meet Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in Prerov [Moravia] tonight.

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Czech Republic: FM: Human Rights Must Be Discussed With PRC

LD2104121796 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec received today his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen, who is on a three-day visit to the Czech Republic. Jana Olivova has more details:

[Olivova] Minister Zieleniec said that he and the Chinese foreign minister discussed a great variety of issues related to Czech-Chinese relations as well as many international issues, including the changes in the UN structure. Economic contacts were also on the agenda.

The two ministers agreed that bilateral relations are intensive at both the political and economic level. According to Zieleniec, the Czech Republic acknowledges the concept of one China. At the same time, the Czech Republic considers human rights to be an important issue for relations between states and for world stability. Zieleniec said human rights is, was, and will be an integral part of the Czech-Chinese dialogue. However, the Czech Republic's policy is in this respect comparable to the policy of all other democratic countries.

Czech Republic: PRC Minister, Dlouhy Discuss Cooperation

LD2104152096 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy met Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who is on an official visit to the Czech Republic. Jana Olivova has more details:

[Olivova] Minister Dlouhy said that the talks focused exclusively on trade and economic cooperation. He appreciated China's present economic policy. According to Dlouhy, the talks dealt mainly with the most important Czech-Chinese projects. He mentioned in particular the deliveries of Czech technology for the power industry, transport vehicles, and equipment for chemical, food, and the mining industry. He also stressed that Czech banks are prepared to offer fully competitive financing.

The Chinese foreign minister then briefly met representatives of important Czech companies, including Skoda Plzen [heavy-engineering group], Skodaexport [foreign trade company], and the Czech Export Bank, who briefed him on their plans in China.

The Czech Republic is currently recording substantial growth in Chinese imports, especially in the field of consumer goods and electronics.

Czech Republic: Havel Interviewed on Political issues

LD2104182396 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 21 Apr 96

[Regular weekly interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Moscow correspondent David Stahlavsky, in Tallinn; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Stahlavsky] President, today's talks could be described as Conversations in Tallinn, as we are recording them in Estonia. I think, though, that this would be unfair to the other Baltic states, Lithuania and Latvia, which you visited this week. Could you sum up your trip and your perception of our relations with individual Baltic countries that, like the Czech Republic, have only relatively recently regained their freedom?

[Havel] [Passage omitted] My trip had two goals: first, to discuss with the representatives of these states global issues of the future European setup and to become familiar with their way of thinking; to seek common points—there are many such points; and, at the same time, to express our solidarity with their efforts.

The second goal was to create conditions for enhancing bilateral relations. I believe that we succeeded in this. [passage omitted]

[Stahlavsky] In your speech given on the occasion of receiving an honorary doctorate at the ancient University of Vilnius, which was strongly applauded, you outlined Europe's historic opportunity to arrange anew and in a just way our relations on the continent. Are you not afraid that the forces that continue to have ambitions for power might damage these prospects?

[Havel] Of course, they might ruin these prospects if the new and just order did not emerge sufficiently quickly and energetically. Any procrastination, prolongation, and obscuring of matters plays into the hands of various nationalists, populists, or those who even harbor some kind of imperialist whims. We recently saw that their voice is getting stronger. Perhaps one of the reasons—and this is what I tried to point out in my speech—is the lack of energy with which the better and more just setup, based on equality, is being built.

[Stahlavsky] President, there was some controversy on the Czech political scene last week, when neither the opposition nor the coalition parties could come to an agreement in parliament. As head of state, how do you view this status quo now, before new parliamentary elections?

[Havel] Of course, during my trip I was not able to study the situation in all its details and nuances. Nevertheless,

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from what I know about it, it is clear to me that it is not too good. I view it as a warning signal that confirms to me what I have been saying quite often: Strictly party or partial interests should not be put above common and state interests.

As you may be aware, the parliamentary session was to have over 150 points on the agenda, and it was to pass several very important bills. [passage omitted] If, as a result of such disputes, controversies, or quarrels, the whole process is blocked, it is a bad preelection signal and might even annoy some voters to the extent that they would not go to the ballot boxes.

Nevertheless, given all of the complicated negotiations conducted throughout the week, I still believe that parliament will meet and debate some issues. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: Commentary on Defense Agreement With Poland

AU1904171796 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Apr 96 p 12

[Commentary by Jan Gazdik: "Purchasing Aircraft With Poland Will Turn Out To Be Cheaper"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The agreement between Poland and the Czech Republic on a joint course of action in modernizing their air forces is described by the military, diplomats, and industrialists as one of the most efficacious steps our political representatives have taken toward boosting the country's defense capability.

This does not alter the fact that the two states arrived at this solution under pressure caused by the declining performance of their Russian-made combat aircraft, due, in particular, to their dramatically deteriorating technical condition.

The main advantage of the joint course of action is that purchasing fighters would be considerably cheaper. Moreover, according to the experts, this step will make the production of spare parts more economical and, in time, also make it possible to carry out servicing in one of the Czech aviation plants. Poland, on the other hand, could take over the final assembly of the state-of-the-art Czech L-159 ground-attack aircraft, whose purchase it is considering.

Although Army chiefs are convinced, in view of the favorable security situation in Central Europe, that the Czech Republic is not, on account of the Air Force's reduced capability, under the immediate threat of an air attack, they do point to the no less serious risks that the country could encounter in a few years if the government were to postpone the modernization of the air force indefinitely—namely, in the course of time, the remainder of the degenerating fighters would come to the end of their service lives, while the delivery of the new supersonic aircraft would not be in the foreseeable future.

In a situation when almost two-thirds of the aircraft remain in their hangars because of a lack of spare parts, and the pilots are complaining about an unusually low number of flying hours, the Czech Air Force is, apart from this, slowly turning into an armed element of the Army that presents a risk to its own citizens. Even the 1.5 billion korunas that the Army has earmarked for this year for the purchase of spare parts and to pay for aircraft repairs will not curtail a further decline. The experts view this step as a Band-Aid that will help the fighters last another year at the most.

The top secret document from the Czech-U.S. commission for modernizing the Air Force, which Defense Minister Vilem Holan submitted to the government at the beginning of the year, puts forward several options. Despite this, the experts think that, regardless of the selection of options put forward and their combinations, neither the current nor the future government actually has a choice.

Holan has already rejected the option that nothing be done with the Air Force. Modernizing the MiG's—now suspended—is, with the passage of time, becoming ever more devoid of logic. Moreover, the members of the Chamber of Deputies' Security Committee also categorically reject it. And, finally, the purchase of ultramodern fighters is, despite their undeniable strategic advantage, outside the country's economic potential. "Until we can afford to do so, it does not make sense to insist on purely military-technical dogmas," admit the Air Force's strategists themselves.

Therefore, the arguments put forward by the military and the economists speak in favor of a joint course of action between Poland and the Czech Republic in purchasing the older but modernized F-16A fighters. This option is also the one dearest to the heads of the Czech arms industry. They see an opportunity to improve the Czech arms plants' production capacity and ability to compete in the domestic aviation companies' involvement in the modernization of the Western aircraft.

A country's defense capability is measured not only by the strength of its army, but also by the advanced nature of its domestic industry. The contemplated coordinated course of action between Poland and the Czech Republic in modernizing their air forces also corresponds to this philosophy.

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Slovakia: Ambassador to Vatican Recalled for Consultations

LD2104150696 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Government called back Anton Neuwirth, the Slovak ambassador to the Vatican, for consultations in Bratislava. According to unofficial sources in Slovak church circles, the reason for the step was the Vatican's decision to send Archibishop Dominik Hrusovskiy, the head of the Slovak Catholic Church, to Belarus as a papal nuncio. Hrusovskiy is known for his progovernment attitudes, and the Slovak press commented on the decision taken by the Holy See as one of sending the archbishop to exile.

Slovakia: Church Appointment Seen as 'Lesson' to Meciar

AU2204123496 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Apr 96 p 9

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "The Vatican's Quiet Interference"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The appointment of Bishop Dominik Hrusovsky as papal nuncio to Belarus has surprised many people in Slovakia. It may have come as a surprise even to Hrusovsky himself, although he tried to endure it heroically and to present it as a distinction because, after Archbishop Jan Bukovsky, who—after serving as a papal nuncio in Bucharest, now holds this position in Moscow—he is the second Slovak to have come in for this honor.

From the viewpoint of the situation in Slovakia, however, the departure of Dominik Hrusovsky, who has meanwhile become archbishop, means a palpable weakening of the so-called pro-Slovak part of the Catholic hierarchy. At the same time, it strengthens the position of the Slovak Bishops' Conference headed by Rudolf Balaz, bishop of Banska Bystrica, on whom the government power has concentrated its attacks, including an attempt at criminalization by means of the fabricated affair regarding the sale of the by now infamous triptych.

By sending Dominik Hrusovsky to a post that means political exile, for all practical purposes, the Holy See has clearly indicated on whose side its sympathies reside, in defiance of the repeated attempts by Vladimir Meciar, Augustin Marian Huska, and other protagonists of the so-called national-clericalist ruling movement to win the Vatican to their side.

Last year's visit by Pope John Paul II, which provided an opportunity for reconciliation on the Slovak political scene, did not bear the expected fruit.

This has evidently opened the Vatican's eyes and forced it to take action. It has done so, as is its habit, unobtrusively, yet clearly and distinctly.

Vladimir Meciar's government, too, has received a proper lesson from the Pope because, until now, it has been trying to convince its faithful, including those from clerical ranks, that everything between Bratislava and the Vatican was in the best order.

[The appointment of Dominik Hrusovsky as apostolic nuncio to Belarus is also the subject of a 250-word reply by Chief Editor Jan Smolec to a reader's question in Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 20 April on page 3. Asked whether "the group of pronationally oriented church fathers in Slovakia has not been deliberately weakened" by Hrusovsky's appointment, Smolec admits that this idea has also occurred to him. He recalls that Hrusovsky was one of the bishops who "clearly manifested their joy over the founding of the independent Slovak state," that, after the 1994 elections, Hrusovsky "blessed Meciar government's steps, which tarnished his reputation among politicians of the Christian Democratic Movement," and that Hrusovsky was not among the signatories of the bishops' recent protest against the Penal Code amendment. Smolec promises the reader that "the editorial office is presently trying to obtain a reply to your question."]

Slovakia: Meciar's Lack of Skill in Church Relations Viewed

AU2204145496 Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 22 Apr 96 p 5

[Commentary by Ivan Ceredejev: "The Church in Slovakia Still Does Not Render Unto Meciar That Which Is Meciar's"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

On Conflict Between the Secular and Ecclesiastical Powers

Regardless of whether the Slovak ambassador's invitation to the Vatican for talks in Bratislava (which in diplomatic language could mean an expression of disagreement with the partner state) is or is not confirmed, it is clear that the continuing conflict between the government and the church in Slovakia is gaining momentum. The current stand of the Catholic clergy must be a great disappointment for Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, all the more so as he has attached great importance

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to good relations with the church, and has taken a number of steps to maintain and develop them. It was precisely the prime minister, who—aware of the church's influence on the almost three-quarters of the Slovak population that profess the Catholic faith—made a great contribution to the adoption of the law on restitution of church property just a few months after the birth of the independent republic, as the first in Central and Eastern Europe. Regardless of the view that he was thus only fulfilling the political agreements with the clergy in return for their tacit support in the partition of Czechoslovakia, the tree that grew on the soil of this otherwise important act has for some time now borne ever more bitter fruit and been a source of headaches for the prime minister.

The statement of the Slovak Bishops' Conference of May 1995, in which they de facto sided with the head of state in the intensifying Meciar-Kovac dispute, can be considered the turning point. An anonymous call to the Bystrica bishop with a bomb threat only a few days later seems to have heralded the upcoming cold war. Meciar still managed to present the papal visit as his own diplomatic triumph, but the actual course of the visit did not come out so clearly in favor of the prime minister. The message of John Paul II to politicians was to abandon their disputes, and to citizens to protect their rights.

The Holy Father was speaking to a blank wall just a few days later, when the government started to write one of the less illustrious chapters of its short history: The police search at the seat of the Bystrica bishop was a sign that the prime minister had decided matters in the dispute according to his own original solution. In view of what is happening in Slovakia today, the testimony of the former Slovak Information Service agent and main witness in the case of the abduction of Michal Kovac, Jr. who said, among other things, that one of the secret service's jobs was to work on discrediting prominent church figures who sided with the president no longer came as a great surprise.

The bishops' recent unambiguously negative stand regarding the bill on the protection of the republic is the clearest sign yet that the secular and ecclesiastical powers in Slovakia currently differ fundamentally in their opinions regarding the way power is used. From the prime minister's point of view, it is mainly and precisely the way the church leaders are in agreement regarding political developments in the country that is dangerous. It is dangerous because with its pulpits the church possesses a platform that is capable of having a fundamental impact on public opinion. The irreconcilable differences, polarization, and escalation of conflicts with the traitors in one's own ranks, which can draw admiration at political meetings—none of that is enough to "throw the moneychangers out of the temple," as the prime minister put it when addressing his faithful at the January meeting. The Holy See has two millennia of experience with such "petty wars." The move by the Vatican in sending Bishop Hrusovsky to Belarus last week, in effect taking away from the government one of its few allies among the church leaders, was a clear answer. It indicates that the cabinet will have to wait some time for another private mass. On the domestic scene, Meciar presents himself as an uncompromising politician. It would have been appropriate, however, to have shown a readiness to compromise in relations with a partner who is not actually dependent on the prime minister's will.

Slovakia: Meciar Addresses HZDS Supporters

AU1904133796 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (SLOVENSKO DO TOHO supplement) in Slovak 16 Apr 96 p i

[Report by Elena Siposova on address by Vladimir Meciar, Slovak prime minister and HZDS chairman, at an HZDS rally in the Bratislava-Pasienky indoor sports arena on 11 April: "The Movement Is Open—We Welcome New Members"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Our Path Is the Positive Path of Truth

At the start of his speech, Vladimir Meciar, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] chairman and prime minister, said that the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] had held a rally in the same arena a few weeks earlier. It had been full of wrath and hatred. Let us not imitate them; that is not our way.

He went on to say, on issues on which it is important to confer, that it needed to be restated that in March we had the HZDS Assembly, at which it was said that the HZDS was open and prepared for the influx of new members. We are going to grow in size and strength, we are going to look for ways of improving the lives of the citizens of the Slovak Republic. We are going to back the HZDS policy aims and will implement them in practice.

Of particular importance were his words: We need not be against, because we are for. This positive program is characteristic of all the deliberations and results of the Movement's assembly.

Accommodating the Citizens

The National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] made a number of important decisions in March. First

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and foremost, it needs to be emphasized that the good economic results of Slovakia have made it possible to address some social issues. It was possible to pass a law to increase pensions by 12 percent. A law on the State Housing Development Fund was passed concurrently. While it does not support housing construction to the extent that we foresee for the future, it does stipulate that the state will provide low-interest loans of up to 300,000 korunas [Sk] for the construction of a house or an apartment or for the acquisition of other housing. For each child born, the debtor will be able to write off 10 percent of the loan.

Vladimir Meciar went on to deal with the favorable development of prices. As he said, prices have gone up by only 0.3 percent this year, while we are seeing a growth in wages and economic performance. The growth of the Slovak economy is successfully continuing.

Laws That Arouse Attention

The NRSR also approved laws that are of considerable political significance. First of all, the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty was ratified, complete with the NRSR's interpretation. This is nothing unusual in international relations. By ratifying this treaty, we offered a hand to the Hungarian Government to cooperate, but our idea of this cooperation is not that someone is going to tell us how we look after our own citizens. These are our own internal affairs.

The second important law approved in the NRSR is the law on territorial and administrative arrangement. As the president of the republic returned this law to Parliament, the deputies will have to deal with it again. Because we want this law to go into force on 1 July 1996, it will apparently be necessary to convene an extraordinary meeting of the NRSR. It is expected that the law will be passed by Parliament again, because the president's objections are irrelevant [nenalezite] and there is not very much to deal with.

Bratislava Will Be a Modern Capital

As the Movement's chairman, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said in the later part of his speech, Bratislava naturally is, and will remain, our capital. Its problem is being much and needlessly dissected in the media. There exists a law on the capital of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, which remains valid in all the powers that Bratislava has, and will retain, as the capital.

Lawmakers must look back, but also forward. When we look at Bratislava's development thus far, the city has almost doubled in size in a short time. And it will continue to grow. If space is to be created for it, if transportation and communications are to be harmonized with the needs of those who come to Bratislava every day, if we want to create a functioning system of services and secure citizens' security and protection, we must create a greater territorial entity Bratislava, an entity that will come to terms with the growth of its population to 1 million. This is the project that the authors of the law [on territorial and administrative arrangements] are putting forward to Bratislava.

In the Interest of the State

Furthermore, Parliament approved the Penal Code amendment. It amends the Chapter 1 of the Penal Code, as well as some other provisions. It introduces stricter punishment for illegalities in the field of privatization.

Great polemics are being conducted over this amendment. But when we look at what it is being reproached for, we see the endeavor to set one interest, that of the state and all the citizens, against another interest, that of maintaining unlimited freedoms without regard for the interest of the state and citizens. This law concerns four activities where it is necessary to limit in a certain way the exercising of rights and freedoms in the interest of the whole. These are: the indivisibility of the territory of the Slovak Republic, the protection of the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, the protection of the security and defense interests of the Slovak Republic, and the protection of the constitutional system of the Slovak Republic.

For the law's provisions on sanctions to be applied, there must be an action directed against these four protected interests. A verbal offense is not enough. Someone has to commit an act and, depending on the circumstances of this act, it will then be assessed whether he did so intentionally. If he did so with the intention of subverting the state, in that case we will really protect the state.

It is repeatedly being asked whether it was really necessary to pass such a law. Vladimir Meciar reacted to this as follows: I ask those who claim that it was not necessary: Are you so blind and deaf that you do not hear and see that a group of politicians wants to break up this territory? I am asking those who say that such a law is not needed: Do you not see that one political party here is saying that there must first be five years of unrest in Slovakia in order to have 1,000 years of peace? We want to have peace here today! We do not want a permanent political struggle any more; we do not want clashes and unrest. We want peace in the state; we want to devote ourselves to work....

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If we are interested in protecting the state, should we do so by some other than constitutional means? Vladimir Meciar asked those present, and added: The passage of the law protecting the state was correct and the NRSR decided well.

Informers Are Writing to Known Addresses

The discussion on this law is taking place in Slovakia and beyond its borders. The KDH and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] are already writing to their centers and mobilizing political structures in Western Europe against this law, as though violations of human and civic rights were taking place in Slovakia; they are casting doubt on the state and on democracy as a whole. At the same time, the president returned this law to Parliament, which will again decide, with final validity, on its passage. Besides, no one is preventing a group of a minimum of 30 deputies from formulating their demands and sending them to the Constitutional Court. There exist sufficient democratic levers at home to deal with such situations.

It needs to be said that very much is at stake in the present development. By creating the impression that there is an unsettled political situation in Slovakia, opposition political parties want to see to it that, apart from other things, during the debate on integration processes the Slovak Republic's entry will be either postponed or thwarted. This is a political game that means more than political colors and posts. The fate of 5.3 million people is at stake. If anyone is opposed to integration, it is certainly not the HZDS.

In conjunction with the political parties' complaints addressed to the West, another letter has arrived as the reaction of the EU states. While the text is essentially friendly, Vladimir Meciar said, we regret that the EU is dealing with this in the first place and that the opposition's complaints have again been accepted in the West without anyone asking the legitimate government anything. We respect all governments and demand that they, too, respect us. Lobbyism through party structures is something that we also witnessed when the difficulties in Yugoslavia started. I am not saying this by coincidence, Vladimir Meciar said.

Democracy—Opposition Style

The prime minister stressed that it is necessary to pay heed to the opposition's juggling around with the word democracy. What is considered democratic in the legislation of Western democratic states is labeled as undemocratic in Slovakia. Public opinion is on the side of the law, however.

What the opposition objects to the most in the Penal Code amendment is the word intention. However, were this word not there, how could one prove that someone committed murder, for example, with the intention of committing such a deed?

During the governments of Prime Minister Meciar, no one has been sentenced unjustly. And, the prime minister said, no one will be sentenced, unless his or her intention to commit a criminal act, to subvert the republic, for example, is proven. [passage omitted]

Except for a minor incident by a group of young people, to which we are not going to return here, the rally took place in a peaceful atmosphere. Speaking about the reasons that make the opposition resort to methods such as this incident, whose aim was to disrupt the peaceful course of the rally, [HZDS Deputy Chairman] Augustin Marian Huska said: They are resorting to such insignificant provocations because they are incapable of anything else....

Slovakia: Meciar Discusses New Laws, Foreign Relations

LD1904222696 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1637 GMT 19 Apr 96

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Lydia Mrazova on 19 April; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Mrazova] The president returned the law on the territorial and administrative division of the Slovak Republic to parliament. However, on Monday [15 April] you already appointed eight commissioners charged with the preparation and the setting up of regional and district offices. Is the commissioners' work not going to be affected? They will have to wait for the law to be debated in parliament again, will they not?

[Meciar] The Slovak Government has the right to appoint its commissioners for any sector of activity. No other law is needed for such appointments. [passage omitted] The step taken by the government is in line with the law. [passage omitted]

In the law, which was returned to parliament by the president, there is only one open issue worth any attention—the status of the town of Bratislava and the fact that the president does not want the future districts of Malacky, Pezinok, and Senec to become incorporated into Bratislava.

This standpoint may have a political background in that the Christian Democrats [Christian Democratic Movement, KDH], who at present form a majority in

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the [Bratislava] municipal administration together with the Democratic Union [DU], are afraid that the addition of these three new districts might change the political character of Bratislava. I personally cannot see any problem here and I believe that no territorial division can be based on such an attitude. [passage omitted]

The Christian Democrats are trying to persuade everyone in Bratislava and its vicinity that the government is responsible for failures in the town's administration. This is not true. The government is fulfilling its duties towards the town and the citizens. We are very sorry to say that the town is not willing and does not want to create conditions for the work of central government bodies.

Regarding the status and the development of Bratislava, the mayor of Bratislava says he would rather see the central bodies out of Bratislava, but, at the same time, the government is being accused of propaganda and of wanting to move the capital to Banska Bystrica. That is nonsense! It is unrealistic (?regardless of how much anybody might want it to happen). Bratislava is our capital and we like it. We want it to be beautiful and we want it develop as dynamically as Kosice, Banska Bystrica, and Zilina. [passage omitted]

Bratislava will grow. It will be a great European town and it will continue to be our capital.

[Mrazova] What does, in your view, guarantee the transparency and control of privatization?

[Meciar] I have commented on this already twice in this program. These guarantees are legislative; we have passed the appropriate laws. There is an internal system of control through the supervisory board of the Privatization Fund. There is an external system of control through the appropriate parliamentary committee. [passage indistinct] Control is also carried out by the public, as decisions are being published by the media and those who are dissatisfied with these decisions can oppose them. Further, if the law is violated by any decision, all involved are subject to the Penal Code.

[Mrazova] During his Prague talks with his Hungarian counterpart Laszlo Kovacs, Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk suggested to him that the ceremonial declaration of the Domica caves part of the world heritage might become an opportunity for a meeting between the Slovak and the Hungarian prime minister. Is such a meeting being really prepared?

[Meciar] The meeting is being discussed but whether it takes place or not is not essential at present. The implementation of the agreements we concluded, the prime minister and I, should be reassessed. Such a meeting would be welcomed but the question whether it takes place at Domica now or somewhere else later on, is not the most pressing issue at present.

[Mrazova] Does this mean, Prime Minister, that you are unable to answer my question when the exchange of the ratification documents will take place, now when the Slovak-Hungarian treaty has already been passed by parliament? What is hindering this exchange?

[Meciar] The ratification documents are always exchanged on the basis of a mutual agreement. We have not reached such an agreement yet. The Hungarian side put forward a proposal and its versions are being considered. This is a usual process which does not involve governments, and this treaty is subject to it as any other treaty is. Therefore, there is no need to pay a special attention to it.

[Mrazova] [passage omitted] When do you think foreign countries will finally begin to perceive us on the basis of our objective results instead of on the basis of lobbying by individuals and groups, looking at us exclusively through political bias? The other issue is when we ourselves will begin to make a difference between professional qualities and a political affiliation to any political entity?

[Meciar] I have been informed that opposition political parties met and, in the context of the preparation for the next [parliamentary] plenary session, decided to increase their pressure on the government and the government coalition [words indistinct]. This means that this pressure, the turning of internal problems into international ones, has not come to an end yet. It is becoming an official method of their work, and this will be the case as long as citizens will continue to accept it.

The other issue is the one of the recognition of the Slovak Republic institutions which have now began to enjoy a good name abroad, and have proved they are capable of working well, but still do not enjoy such a reputation at home.

How long will our feeling of being small keep killing everything positive, how long will we continue to think about ourselves as a nation of mere tinkers, beggars, and people whose fate is to suffer under somebody else's yoke, being unable to live an independent life? This inferiority complex, which is a part of the media policy and influences the thinking of many people, is groundless. It is damaging to our national and state interests. We must get rid of this syndrome of vassalage! [passage omitted]

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Slovakia: EdF Representative Views Role at Mochovce

AU1904160596 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Apr 96 pp 1, 3

[Article by Jan Skoda: "The EdF Has Not Yet Received an Offer To Complete Units 3 and 4 of EMO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar announced that, after the first two units of the nuclear power plant at the Mochovce nuclear power plant (EMO) are completed, a "continuous transfer to the construction of units 3 and 4 will ensue." Jean-Alain Vaujour, general representative of the French firm Electricite de France (EdF), told us, however, that they have not yet received any offer from the Slovak side.

"First of all, it is a question that they have never raised," Vaujour replied to our question of whether the EdF is ready to participate in the construction of the last two units of the EMO, as Prime Minister Meciar said. "So, it is difficult to say what we would do. Our contribution to the old project was limited to the first two units. They must be completed first, and then we can decide on the question of completing units 3 and 4. So far, however, no one has asked us this question."

The EdF was the author of the original project for the completion of Mochovce, which the main contractor, Slovenske Elektrarne [Slovak Power Plants, SE], supported by the Slovak Government, rejected because of its high cost. According to Vaujour, the new project prepared by the firm Skoda Prague differs from the original French one mostly in the different structure of responsibility of the participating enterprises. "In the new project, the SE is responsible for the overall completion of the construction and for launching the first two power-plant units into operation," the EdF representative said.

In the French project, the EdF was the only builder of the EMO. "Nothing has changed, however, regarding the goals or the participants. They are the same. Those who are there now were there also in the old structures, at different places perhaps, but they do the same work," Vaujour told us.

Of course, the contribution of the EdF is smaller today. That is also reflected in the number of EdF employees working at Mochovce. Depending on the stage of construction, there will be five to 15 employees. Vaujour, whose signature appears on the contract with the SE regarding the support for the operation of units 1 and 2 at the EMO, emphasized that the orientation and the goals of the SE have not changed despite the change in the project. "Our participation should facilitate the attainment of these goals. I have no doubts in this respect," EdF representative Vaujour added.

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Hungary: Interior Minister, Bosnian Counterpart Sign Accord

LD2104112796 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The interior ministers of Hungary and Bosnia-Herzegovina have signed an agreement. The guest is visiting Budapest, his first foreign visit, to attend the opening ceremony of the International Police Academy. By the way, Hungary was among the first states to establish ties with Bosnia-Herzegovina. Gyoergyi Nemeth reports:

[Nemeth] According to the document, the two countries will now jointly fight against organized crime, drug trafficking, and terrorism. They can exchange data on criminals and suspects.

The two ministers also signed an agreement on the return of illegal immigrants. It will not concern those who were given refugee status during the Balkan war, who will be returning home gradually. The agreement will also concern those who illegally entered Hungary or Bosnia-Herzegovina from a third country.

Also, the Interior Ministry is organizing a conference to address the refugee issue.

Hungary: Official Resigns in Protest Over Gypsy Policy

LD1904213796 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The minister of culture has not accepted the resignation of the director of the ministry's Citizen Liaison Department, who asked to be relieved of his post because he could not support the government's policies concerning Gypsies. Agnes Papp reports:

[Papp] According to Peter Rado, who holds the title of deputy state secretary, the government's policies concerning Gypsies have changed recently in a direction that raises doubts about the government's claim of truly wanting to help Gypsies in Hungary. He said that his resignation was intended to signal his protest against this change of direction.

He said that he believed the crisis-management of Gypsy affairs will fizzle out in showy measures, without truly useful and comprehensive programs for the Romany community.

Experts have said that the Ministry of Culture will lose an expert administrator. The experts recalled that Peter Rado, an eminent sociologist, worked out the first Gypsy education and improvement program.

A ministry spokesman said that the ministry regretted that one of its best officials wanted to leave. He added, however, that they did not think that the criticism, implied in the resignation, was aimed at the ministry's Gypsy policy.

Hungary: Farm Support Policies Examined

96CH0078A Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 29 Feb 96 pp 22-24

[Article by Peter S. Szirmai: "Individual Farming Just Does Not Go"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *With the help of subsidies of the kind we have not seen for some time, the cabinet's agricultural committee is attempting to remedy the damage caused by the policy of promoting family farms, by the compensation awards that carve up agricultural cooperatives, and by the division of [cooperative] property. In recent years cooperatives have been at such a disadvantage against (agricultural) business associations that social catastrophe threatens economically depressed regions. The government has announced a cooperative-friendly stabilization "program" to buy back the cooperative shares of nonmembers and to integrate cooperatives. But it is diverting thereby money from production.*

The agricultural cooperatives' stabilization, linked to agricultural subsidies, has been the target of many attacks since it was announced. The food industry is complaining that the difference between the 45 billion-47 billion forints [Ft] of export subsidies last year on the one hand, and the Ft26 billion earmarked for that purpose this year on the other hand, is not being plowed back into farm and food-industry production. Chairman Sandor Orosz of the National Assembly's Agricultural Committee also argues that products acceptable even to the World Trade Organization must be helped to market some other way. Agriculture and the food industry can accept the curtailment of export subsidies only if the prospects of finding markets are not diminished, and the products do not become unsalable. The subsidies paid producers to compensate for the high production costs were intended to ensure this, but those sums have not been plowed back into production.

The allocation for the cooperatives' stabilization—in other words, the buying of cooperative shares, the subsidies for the cooperatives' integration, the subsidies from the Land-Use Protection Fund, and even the cooperatives' reorganization—does not directly help marketing. It diverts already meager resources from production, and that is bad for the targeted farmer as well. In the opinion of food-industry producers, this system of subsidies is flawed because it is based on the cooperative lobby's narrow interests, and that is why it is being opposed jointly by food-industry producers and farmers as well. (This year's appropriation for agriculture earmarks

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Ft8.0 billion for aiding the cooperatives farming under adverse conditions, with subsidies from the Land-Use Protection Fund, and Ft1.0 billion for subsidized agricultural insurance. Furthermore, Ft7.0 billion has been earmarked for subsidies to aid the reorganization of cooperatives; Ft2.0 billion, to aid area development; Ft1.5 billion, to aid integration; and Ft1.0 billion, to aid the repurchasing of cooperative shares.)

"Subsidizing the purchasing of cooperative shares from nonmembers is a forced move to stabilize the agricultural cooperatives' operations and to free them from being at the mercy of nonmember shareholders," claims Andras Zsohar, the agriculture minister's principal private secretary. For "hyenas"—speculators who buy up the cooperative shares of nonmembers—have appeared also in Hungary's agriculture and food industry under free competition. This enables them to acquire not only specific items of equipment, parts of the business assets, but entire cooperatives as well. The supply on offer is huge. Some shareholders would like to get rid of their shares, because the current price of the shares is hopelessly low. In other words, investors are able to acquire—practically for nothing when measured in terms of Western European prices—assets whose present value will increase by orders of magnitude after our expected accession to the European Union.

A Waste of Money

Nevertheless, buying back the shares is a great sacrifice on the part of the cooperatives, because it diverts money from production. Gabor Horvath, secretary general of the National Federation of Agricultural Cooperative Members and Farmers (MOSZ), is of the opinion that it would be a waste of money for a cooperative to buy back its shares, in spite of the subsidy. The cooperative would not be receiving value in exchange; at most only its operation would become stabilized in the long term. This subsidy is mostly of a symbolic nature; even in the case of a large agricultural cooperative, it amounts to a few hundred thousand forints at most. Occasionally the subsidy is not enough to cover the costs of preparing the application, and of the inevitable amending of the cooperative's articles of association. Moreover, the cooperative has to match the subsidy with resources of its own. That forces the cooperative to reduce its capital.

"The subsidy to aid the integration of cooperatives is likewise merely of declarative value, a hypocritical rule," says Gabor Horvath. In his opinion, this subsidy has been devised from the very outset so that it could never be claimed. The rule that an integration subsidy may be claimed only for new construction must be changed, because this leads to the wasting of assets. In every village there are many buildings for storing artificial fertilizers or pesticides, as well as granaries and grain dryers, that belong to cooperatives and farmers but could be remodeled for integration purposes. Remodeling would be much cheaper than new construction. Not enough money, merely Ft1.5 billion, has been earmarked for this purpose, whereas there are 2000 cooperatives on paper. The small average per cooperative would not be enough for new construction.

The opposition is of the opinion that the decision to preserve the agricultural cooperatives is in conflict with the European Union's practice, and harmonization will eventually sweep it away anyhow. Gyorgy Rasko, the former state secretary who supports private farms, criticizes not only the subsidies but also indivisible cooperative ownership of land, which is being debated in conjunction with amending the Law on Cooperatives. The principal private secretary claims it is not true that indivisible cooperative ownership is in conflict with the European Union's practice: the *polder* in the Netherlands are also indivisible cooperative property.

Agricultural Cooperative Nostalgia

The European Union is spending billions on changing the structure of land ownership. The Agricultural Committee in Brussels, according to Gabor Horvath, is advising the countries of East Europe to permit legal entities and foreigners to own land.

Often it is an obstacle to their operation that agricultural cooperatives, with their many joint owners, are not creditworthy because indivisible property cannot serve as collateral. Stemming from this very necessity, the cooperatives' reorganization has already begun. Due to the cooperatives' specific circumstances, however, their reorganization is proceeding more slowly than what the economy's established laws would warrant. The members must decide how they wish to plan their future—whether as cooperatives or as business associations. Earlier, for example, the rules favored corporations. They were able to avoid honoring compensation awards and did not lose their lands. For that reason, many state farms and several agricultural cooperatives became corporations. The door to reorganization is still open, and should the danger of external interference by regulators increase, the cooperatives would choose the organizational form that offered more protection. Then, also in Gabor Horvath's opinion, cooperatives could be expected to reorganize on a mass scale. That is what the government wishes to avoid by means of its measures. However, it is not just changing the organizational form that is expensive. The same can be said also of the related changes in economic activity. For that reason the cooperatives are able to switch only gradually from

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farming to services. That is why farming will continue to account for an estimated 10 to 50 percent of their economic activity. Farming is the only thing left for most cooperatives to do, because they have been left out of the privatization of food-processing plants. Namely, they were unable to use their compensation notes—the financial conditions were set so as to exclude them as prospective bidders.

Divide and Conquer!

The government has now introduced measures that are one-sidedly cooperative-friendly. Their effect is to place at a disadvantage the individual and family farms that are already decisive within the agricultural sector. Last year they accounted for nearly 40 percent of the area sown with winter grains. Istvan Jakab, the cochairman of the National Federation of Farmers' Clubs in Hungary, fears that a system of large estates might again evolve in Hungary in the wake of restoring indivisible cooperative ownership. It is only a question of time and minor legislative changes before these prospective huge estates are acquired by foreigners. A third of the agricultural cooperatives are already on the brink of bankruptcy; many of them will sell their assets. With their reorganization, agricultural cooperatives have been deprived of indivisible cooperative ownership for the specific purpose that they might become manufacturing and service collectives, on the Western European model. But they prefer to lease land and farm, and are hesitant about starting off in new directions.

Disappointed Farmers

The cochairman of the National Federation of Farmers' Clubs complains that the integration subsidy, too, is very closely targeted—it benefits only cooperatives, and not the organizers of production under forward contracts. The "Western-type" cooperatives that farmers establish require minimal capital contributions that do not leave anything for investment.

Istvan Jakab believes that integration is a good idea, if it is not used to compel private farmers to buy their necessary supplies and equipment from the cooperatives, and to market their produce exclusively through them. If the old cooperatives were to integrate the private farms, it would result first of all in that the profit would appear at the cooperatives. Laszlo Orvendi, an agricultural entrepreneur from Hajdu County, also fails to understand why only cooperatives are eligible for integration subsidies. He cites as examples two firms in Hajduszoboszlo that organize crop production under forward contracts. Neither one gets an integration subsidy for its investment.

The question arises, of course, whether this gesture to the cooperatives might not be regarded—especially during the current paucity of resources—as the same kind of favoritism that the Antall and subsequently the Boross governments had shown the private farmers. According to the agriculture minister's principal private secretary, all this only resets the balance. It removes some of the handicaps and restores to the cooperatives the most fundamental conditions of needed to function. Gabor Horvath, too, believes that there is no competitive advantage; that it is a misrepresentation to claim there is. The MOSZ has saved the small-scale producers' 1-million-forint individual income-tax exemption. Although this is by no means competition-neutral, it helps also the cooperative, by helping its members.

Only time will tell whether agriculture and the food industry would have fared better with the stabilization of the cooperatives or with real farm subsidies.

[Box, p 22]

The Market in Cooperative Shares

Restoration of the original owners' title to property brought into agricultural cooperatives has created about Ft50 billion worth of nonmember shares in cooperatives in Hungary. The market price of the shares fluctuates between 5 and 25 percent of their par value. The division of cooperative assets has increased to 1.5 million the holders of cooperative shares. This number, which is expected to multiply through inheritance, is already creating unmanageable stresses. The circle of shareholders must be narrowed. In the interest of concentration, the state is encouraging, through capital-gains and individual income-tax incentives, the purchasing of cooperative shares by members. A member may claim as a tax credit 30 percent of what he paid for the shares he bought. The cooperatives also receive a special incentive for buying back their own shares. If they buy back shares from retired members or nonmembers, they do not have to pay corporate income tax on the difference between the par value of the shares and the price they paid for them. Although a cooperative gets a 50-percent subsidy for buying back its own shares, this subsidy may be claimed at most for up to 5 percent of the cooperative's share capital, and the reported market price may not exceed 15 percent of the shares' par value. In other words, a cooperative with Ft100 million of share capital may claim a maximum of Ft375,000 as a subsidy for buying back its own shares. That is why many cooperatives will not buy back their shares, so as to avoid incurring liabilities.

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[Box, p 23]

Expensive Self-Esteem

The bill amending the Cooperative Law might restore the institution of indivisible cooperative ownership, but that in itself would not be worth anything without amending also the Arable Land Law, claims Andras Zsohar, the agriculture minister's principal private secretary. For the bill's latest draft would eventually lift only from cooperatives the ban on acquiring arable land, but would leave the ban in place for business associations and foreigners.

According to experts, the ban is a moot and irrational one. Foreigners now conclude long-term leases with Hungarian owners. To be on the safe side, the foreigners stipulate their right of first refusal in the leases. Once Hungary joins the European Union, it will be necessary to lift the ban on the acquisition of real estate in Hungary by foreigners. This will not only make the foreign leaseholders owners, but also the several thousand predated "pocket" contracts with foreigners will become valid.

But even until then, with the ban in place the state will be the loser. It is becoming impossible to verify ownership. The secret foreign owner is not paying taxes. And investments are being deferred during the transitional period. If foreigners were permitted to buy land in Hungary under controlled, regulated conditions, the foreign buyers would not only be paying duty on transfers of property, but would also be required to pay into the Land-Use Protection Fund the differences between the Hungarian and the Western European prices. This would give the real-estate market a shot in the arm and would also revive the institution of farm-mortgage credit from its Sleeping Beauty dream. The foreign owner would also undertake many investments that could make our products more competitive and exportable. There is no way he can take the soil out of the country, but he could set an example and direction for his neighbors in cultivating the soil.

Instead of this, our politicians—from misinterpreted national self-esteem—are rejecting foreign buyers of arable land, while several thousand hectares of abandoned land is not being cultivated at all in Hungary. In Andras Zsohar's opinion, this also discourages many businessmen from investing in Hungary. The expert believes it would be easier for a Saudi sheik to buy a vineyard in the country from which champagne originates, than a barren sand dune in our country. Yet the French, too, are proud of their country.

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B-H: Izetbegovic Says 'Struggle for' Bosnia Unfinished

LD2104160796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A parade of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, held in Bihac today in the presence of about 100,000 people and a high-ranking Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation headed by Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, is yet another firm confirmation of our army's strength and achievements. We have a report from Elmin Huskic.

[Huskic] In the presence of over 100,000 people, a parade of the units of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps was held in Bihac today. The ceremony was attended by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Ejup Ganic, member of the presidency and vice president of the [Croat-Muslim] federation; General Rasim Delic, army chief of general staff; Divisional general Atif Dudakovic, commander of the 5th Corps commander; the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic; representatives of the diplomatic corps; and foreign military attaches.

Members of the 501st, 502d, 503d, 505th, 506th, 507th, 509th, 511th, and 517th Brigades, the Air Force Group, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the military police, and other units took part in the parade. The 510th Mechanized Brigade, the 5th Combined Artillery Unit, the 5th Light Artillery Antiaircraft Division, and the 5th Engineering Battalion were very impressive.

The streets of Bihac witnessed the strength and might of the world's youngest army, armed and equipped by weapons captured in the bloodiest battles against the aggressor. The scenes in Bihac today resembled a spectacle so desperately needed by this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the request of the people, the parade, which lasted for 70 minutes, was concluded by the president of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, who shared the people's pleasure in the following way:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Dear brothers and sisters, dear people of Krajina, dear friends. Since the parade was a long one, I will be brief. I will be brief because what you have just seen is a telling message, a telling message to which I have not much more to add. This was a message for both friend and foe; to make friends rejoice and to warn the enemy never again to raise its finger against our people.

What you have just seen is only a part of our strength, only a part of the 5th Corps, its smaller part, mostly captured from the enemy, admittedly paid for by the lives of our people but, nevertheless, captured. They attained glory by killing our women and children while we seized and captured their tanks, guns, and vehicles. That was our revenge.

I am here to say not a great deal, to say and, above all, to thank you for turning up in such large numbers to see the parade. And I am sure you will agree with me when I say that it was worth it. Second, to congratulate you on your conduct during the war. Your unprecedented courage and sacrifices have been admired by our people and will be admired by future generations; and to tell you that the struggle for Bosnia-Herzegovina has not finished yet, that it goes on and to wish you success on this long difficult and honorable road toward a free and democratic Bosnia. Thank you and may God help you. [end recording]

[Huskic] The program of President Izetbegovic's and the Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation's visit includes a tour of the municipality of Bosanski Petrovac, Kljuc, and Sanski Most.

B-H: Paper Charges Izetbegovic, Implicates U.S. in Terrorism

AU1904200496 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 96 p 5

[Report by Momcilo Kovacevic: "Alija Ordered Slaughter"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The liquidation of Serbs in Sarajevo, between 5,000 and 6,000 of them, whose bodies were thrown into the pits called "kazani" on the slopes of Mt. Trebevic, was carried out by Misan Topolovic Caco, commander of the former 10th Hill Muslim Brigade. Alija Izetbegovic issued the order for the mass killing to him personally.

This is a part of the statement made by Jasmin Sljivo, leader of the Muslim terrorist group captured in the territory of the RS [Serb Republic] on 23 March of this year. The interrogation was also attended by representatives of IFOR's [Implementation Force] international police, which was not the case during General Djukic's and Colonel Krsmanovic's arrests.

Sljivo also admitted that, as the escort to Topolovic, commander of the brigade, he killed about 200 Serb civilians and raped several dozens of women. He even mentioned the names of some of his victims.

The proponents of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina have obviously not given up the idea that terrorism is the most suitable method for renewing conflicts. In line with this, the intelligence services of France and the Netherlands, and especially their agents

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in Bosnia-Herzegovina, are involved in disinformation that the Serb Republic is planning terrorist actions against IFOR. Considering that there is reliable proof that in fact it is the mujahidin and Croatian agents who are preparing to carry out such actions on the territory of the RS, it is of course clear why these and similar untruths are being launched.

This is supported by the fact that a group of Muslim terrorists on 22 March 1996 tried to carry out a sabotage action on the Pale-Lukavica road. Saban Begovic, commander of the 115th Muslim Brigade, ordered the brigade's command and the commander of the reconnaissance-sabotage unit on 16 March to send three men to this road to carry out a terrorist attack in the Grbavica region, which was fortunately discovered and thwarted in time.

The Muslims are receiving their greatest support for terrorist-sabotage actions from the United States. U.S. instructors are providing intense training to the reconnaissance-sabotage units in an attempt to replace the Iranian instructors. In view of this policy, the United States is already supplying Alija's army with arms. The main training camp for the men from the 28th Muslim Division is in the area of the village of Vukovije, northeast of Dubrave airport near Tuzla.

[Box, p 5]

Terrorists in the Mosque

The situation in the village of Svracici, 10 km from Kalesija, is the best illustration of how some NATO members of IFOR are closing their eyes to the Muslims' almost open preparations for terrorist actions. A group of mujahidin from Saudi Arabia—whose members used to be in the special company called "Gazija"—is freely roaming this village and the surrounding area.

The terrorists live in a religious facility, "Menzet," and are directly subordinated to efendi Nusret Imamovic from Kalesija, who had in fact organized their arrival in this area. The reconnaissance-sabotage battalion in Vukovije is filled with men from this notorious unit.

B-H: Zubak: Federation Leaders Blocking Sarajevo Accord

LD2104154796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1435 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 21 (TANJUG)—President of the Muslim-Croat Federation Kresimir Zubak accused Saturday the government and constituent assembly of the Muslim-Croat Federation of blocking the Sarajevo agreement to bolster the federation from which, for the time being, it is impossible to leave.

In a statement to Muslim Radio Sarajevo, Zubak said the agreement which was signed in Sarajevo on March 30 by top federation officials, should establish a customs system and a single federal police.

The deadlines were April 1 and 10, but nothing has been done, Zubak specified.

According to the Sarajevo agreement the deadline has also passed for setting up provisional municipal councils in Stoc and Capljina, under Croatian control, and in Bugojno and Vares where Muslims have taken over.

The blockade of all segments of the federation is also evident in the paradox that the assembly has not adopted any of 625 proposals for the flag and coat of arms of the Muslim-Croat Federation.

B-H: Muratovic: Forces Needed After IFOR Mandate Expires

AU1904182596 Paris AFP in English 1806 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, April 19 (AFP)—An international peacekeeping force should stay in Bosnia after the mandate of the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) expires in December, Bosnian Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic said Friday.

"We don't think that peace is going to be stable ... the end of this year, so our opinion is that some presence of foreign forces will be needed when this (IFOR) mission expires," Muratovic told a press conference here.

The remarks were the first by a member of the Bosnian government suggesting that an international force would need to remain in Bosnia beyond December.

The head of UN peacekeeping missions, Kofi Annan, told an Austrian newspaper in an interview published Friday a force of 25,000 to 30,000 international peacekeepers should stay in Bosnia after IFOR's current mandate runs out.

In an interview with an Italian paper, NATO's supreme commander in Europe, General George Joulwan, hinted earlier this week that the Western alliance could extend its one-year mandate in Bosnia.

B-H: Steiner Blocks Financial Aid to Four Municipalities

AU1804181796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Michael Steiner, first deputy of senior representative, Carl Bildt, today sent a letter to Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, president and

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vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and Prime Ministers Izudin Kapetanovic and Hasan Muratovic in which he stresses that the Stolac, Capljina, Vares, and Bugojno municipalities are not allowed to receive any financial aid from the division taxes [diobeni porezi] and transfers until they hold constituting sessions of the transitional municipal councils and carry out elections.

This, Steiner points out, refers to the funds of the international community, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, the Federation Government, as well as the existing civilian authorities in the areas controlled by the Croatian Defense Council.

The aforementioned municipalities were supposed to honor their obligations of 9 April 1996 pursuant to Paragraph 7 of the Sarajevo Agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation that was signed on 30 March 1996.

Steiner points out that, pursuant to the clause and the demand of the UN Security Council of 4 April 1996, to fully realize the Sarajevo Agreement, it is his duty to inform the World Bank, the EU Commission, and other incumbent international institutions, as well as donors, to ensure the withholding of the transfer of funds for Stolac, Capljina, Vares, and Bugojno municipalities, except for humanitarian aid, until the legislative and administrative bodies are formed there.

Steiner demands that the Federation president, vice president, and the prime ministers of the Republican and the Federation Governments inform him of the steps that they have undertaken, in adherence to the obligations from Paragraph 9 of the agreement and the 4 April demand of the UN Security Council that the abovementioned municipalities do not receive funds from dividing taxes and transfers by the two governments and the existing civilian authorities in the area controlled by the Croatian Defense Council until they have formed legislative and executive authorities.

B-H: Russian Officer Praises 'Excellent' U.S. Cooperation

AU2004150096 Paris AFP in English
1351 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, April 20 (AFP)—A senior Russian officer commanding the 1,600-strong Russian battalion in Bosnia on Saturday [20 April] praised U.S.-Russian cooperation in the NATO-led peacekeeping mission in Bosnia.

"Cooperation between U.S. and Russian forces is excellent," Colonel Lionti Pavlovic Shevtsov, deputy chief of staff of Russian forces in Bosnia, said.

The 1,600-strong Russian contingent arrived in Bosnia as part of the NATO-led peace Implementation Force [IFOR] which is trying to enforce the Dayton peace accords for Bosnia.

The Russian troops are based in northeast Bosnia in the area commanded by the 20,000-strong American contingent, under U.S. General William Nash.

There have been "no problems" between American and Russian soldiers, Shevtsov said.

He said the Russian Army nevertheless opposes the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation into Eastern Europe and said "the security of Europe depends on the relationship between Russia and NATO."

The IFOR operation in Bosnia is the first in which Russian and U.S. military have worked alongside each other in a potential battlefield.

B-H: IFOR Tells Bosnian Forces To Immediately Demobilize

AU2004172896 Paris AFP in English
1707 GMT 20 Apr 96

[Report by Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SARAJEVO, April 20 (AFP)—A top NATO officer told commanders of Bosnia's three former warring forces Saturday to demobilise their remaining troops or move them to NATO-designated barracks.

British General Sir Michael Walker, the ground troops commander of the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR), said Bosnian government, Serb and Croat forces had already made "substantive progress" returning Bosnia to a peace-time footing.

"The parties are quite clearly demonstrating in good faith their efforts to return to garrisons," Walker said after meeting the rival commanders to review progress on returning Bosnia to a peace-time footing.

Walker told them "the return to garrisons must be completed as quickly as practicable," he added.

Under the Dayton peace treaty, signed last December, all Bosnia's warring forces should have demobilised some of their troops, moved the remainder into barracks and stored away their heavy weapons by midnight April 18.

But not all forces have been demobilised or pulled-back. IFOR officials have suggested this is mainly for logistical reasons including the lack of fuel, lack of staff organisational experience and the scarcity of adequate barracks.

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Demobilising and moving the 300,000 men who fought Bosnia's 43-month conflict was a "massive task" IFOR Brigadier Andrew Cumming said earlier Saturday.

"It would be a trial for any army," he said.

The critical peace-building move to take troops and guns off the former battlefields is seen by IFOR as a critical confidence-building measure and the end of the military phase of the complicated Bosnian peace process.

"Armies are silent, the weapons and guns are being stored away we are listening to a war unwinding," Walker said.

But the relaxation in the military situation in Bosnia did not mean a lightening in the load put up the 60,000-strong 32-nation force, he added.

Tension flared up over the weekend in clashes at two separate locations between different groups of Moslem and Serb refugees and Walker said he was "worried" by the potential for further incidents.

IFOR troops had also already started the "major task" of inspecting the new designated troop and weapons sites across the country, Walker said.

"And we will face a number of other tasks that will be handed to us by NAC," the North Atlantic Council, in the run up to critical elections, due in September, he added.

"I don't think that you will find IFOR troops sleeping in the daytime in the barracks," he said.

A full formal assessment of the compliance with the pull-back requirements will be given by NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and the Supreme Commander Allied Forces Europe, US General George Joulwan, at a press conference in Brussels Monday, officials said.

B-H: IFOR's Smith 'Very Happy' With Military Compliance

AU1904140996 Paris AFP in English 1336 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ROME, April 19 (AFP)—NATO's top commander in Bosnia said Friday he was "very happy" with the efforts being shown by all three parties in the conflict to pull troops and weapons back to NATO-designated sites across the country.

US Admiral Leighton Smith said in Rome that he was happy despite the fact that the government, Serb and Croat forces in Bosnia had not managed to move troops and weapons into barracks and storage sites as they should have done by a NATO deadline of midnight Thursday.

"I cannot support the idea that it (the pullback) has been completed, but we are very happy with what we see," the commander of the NATO-led peace Implementation Force (IFOR) said.

Under the Dayton accords, Bosnia's former warring forces were supposed to have demobilised half their forces, returned the remaining troops to barracks and put all heavy weapons into storage by midnight Thursday.

In Sarajevo, an IFOR spokesman, Major Simon Haselock, said the three forces appeared to have completed much of the task, moving thousands of troops and hundreds of weapons into barracks in recent days, but said they had "probably not" completed the task by the Thursday deadline.

Smith, speaking in Rome, said he did not yet have a start date for IFOR's withdrawal from Bosnia, a four-month task due to be completed by mid-December unless IFOR's one-year mandate is extended.

The top NATO commander in Bosnia suggested it was possible another task force would be asked for in Bosnia, and said it would need "clear political guidance" on its mission.

Following the completion of the main military tasks set in the peace treaty, the 60,000-strong IFOR force was still facing "difficult tasks," including the return of refugees, extending freedom of movement for civilians, which was not yet total, and dealing with elections due in September, Smith said.

The US admiral added he was concerned by the frail state of the Moslem-Croat federation that shares Bosnia with the Serbs' Republika Srpska.

"The federation is fragile and very little effort is made from the inside" to shore up the alliance set up by Washington in 1994, he said.

Smith added that IFOR may be ready, if asked by the UN war crimes tribunal in the Hague, to guard certain war crimes sites, covering alleged mass graves of victims of the Bosnian conflict.

He also angrily rejected claims that IFOR troops have shown scant interest in detaining known indicted war criminals allegedly responsible for much of the past carnage in Bosnia.

He said he becomes "very, very angry" when he hears accusations that IFOR has in the past shown little interest in indicted Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic.

Karadzic and Mladic are both indicted on charges of genocide and crimes against humanity for their conduct of the bloody war in Bosnia.

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"Our forces will detain them," if it comes across them, he said.

B-H: Spanish EU Administrator of Mostar Takes Up Post

LD2204115296 Madrid RNE International in Spanish 1100 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The new EU administrator for the city of Mostar in Herzegovina, the Spaniard Ricardo Perez Casado, has taken up his post replacing the German Hans Koschnick. Perez Casado, 55-year-old former socialist mayor of the Spanish city of Valencia, must restore coexistence between the Catholic Croats and Muslims in Mostar, where these two ethnic groups waged a civil war in 1993-94 in which the entire Serb minority had to flee and major damage was caused in the very center of the city.

After taking up his post, Perez Casado will meet tomorrow with the two mayors of Mostar, one Muslim and one Croat, to discuss the holding of municipal elections planned for the end of May. [passage omitted]

B-H: Attempt by Muslims To 'Storm' Teslic

LD1804204696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2012 GMT 18 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Teslic, April 18 (TANJUG)—Hundreds of Bosnian Muslims tried Thursday to take the town of Teslic, in the north of the (Bosnian Serb) Republika Srpska, by storm, but were blocked by Serb civilians.

The international peace Implementation Force (IFOR) stepped in to contain the incident and prevent it from being blown out of proportion, after which both Serbs and Muslims dispersed.

The incident took place in the village of Vrela, northeast of Teslic, on the Teslic-Doboj road.

Local Serb authorities said that this was a premeditated Muslim provocation, and quoted in substantiation the fact that reporters of some Muslim media had been present on the spot.

B-H: Novi Grad Serbs Prevent Muslims From Crossing Border

LD1904165796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Grad, 19 Apr (SRNA)—In a self-organized action, the Serb population of Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi] today foiled an attempt by a large group of Muslims to cross by force the Serb Republic state border in the southern part of this municipality.

In spite of the Muslim refusal to endorse an earlier concluded agreement on the exchange of territories in this area, a large number of Muslims today crossed to the right bank of the Una River at Otoka, in the Serb Republic, intending to advance further.

The Serb population from this part of the Novi Grad Municipality prevented their advance, while several hundred Serbs assembled at the Una bridge, in Novi Grad. So far, there have been no attempts to cross the state border by force in this area. [passage omitted]

IFOR [Implementation Force] troops have not stopped Muslims from crossing to the Serb Republic territory. They took positions between the two sides only after the self-organizing action of the Serb population. [passage omitted]

B-H: 100 Muslims Entrenched in Bosanski Novi Area

LD1904195996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1834 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Grad, 19 Apr (SRNA)—The majority of the 1,500 Muslims, who today forcibly tried to enter Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi], have returned to the territory of the Muslim-Croat Federation, to Otoka and Arapusa on the left bank of the Una River.

However, about 100 of the most extreme among them refused to comply with the Serb ultimatum to return to from where they came by 1800, and have entrenched themselves near Otoka, on the right bank of the Una, which belongs to the Serb Republic.

Members of the international police force and IFOR [Implementation Force] are trying to resolve this dispute in a peaceful way and are conducting intensive negotiations with representatives of the Serb and Muslim sides in order to avert an even more serious incident with unforeseeable consequences. [passage omitted]

B-H: Muslims Attempt To Cross Bosnian Serb Border

LD2004135696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 20 April (SRNA)—A larger group of Muslims from Tesanj today crossed the [Bosnian] Serb Republic state border again and attempted to enter the area of Doboj, but was prevented in an appropriate way, SRNA correspondent has reported.

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Taking advantage of the fact that there are no permanent checkpoints in the area, the Muslims first attempted to enter in smaller groups. Later they set off in the direction of Doboj in an organized way. Around 100 managed to reach the [Doboj] suburb of Usora unhindered but were then stopped.

Members of IFOR Nordic-Polish brigade, who witnessed the incident, did not intervene.

If the Muslims had not been prevented in time, a more serious incident would have taken place, because citizens of Doboj were prepared to head towards Usora.

Those responsible in the IFOR Doboj command told the SRNA correspondent that they would prepare an official statement on the incident.

B-H: Bosnian Serbs Regain Control of Novi Grad

LD2004113396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0947 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Grad [former Bosanski Novi], 20 April (SRNA)—The northwestern border of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, the Otoka area, has been under total control of the Serb police since 2130 GMT [1930 GMT] last night.

About 1,500 Muslims, led by extremists from Buzim and Otoka, tried to cross over to the right bank of the Una by force yesterday and several hundred of them headed for Serb-held Blatna in the direction of Novi Grad. [passage omitted]

International forces reacted only once and the Serb people starting organizing themselves, thus, preventing the Muslims from moving further into the territory of the Serb Republic.

Late last night, despite IFOR's bias towards the Muslim side, the Serb people, helped by members of the Interior Ministry [police], succeeded in pushing back the remaining extremists to the left bank of the Una.

B-H: IFOR, Serbs, Muslims Discuss Novi Grad 'Incident'

LD2004144896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1429 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banjaluka, April 20 (TANJUG)—Representatives of IFOR continued talks Saturday with representatives of the municipality of Novi Grad, in the west of Republika Srpska (RS), and the Muslim side, following the Friday incident.

About 400 Muslims attempted to enter Novi Grad by force causing an incident near the village of Blatna, three kilometers inside the line of separation towards Novi Grad, with a group of Serb civilians.

The two sides, waving flags and banners, insulted each other and threw stones.

Members of the Czech batallion of IFOR had to interfere two times and fire into the air.

The Friday evening incident was brought to an end after several hours of uncertainty. Some ten IFOR armored cars and members of the U.N. Multinational Police Forces (IPTF) calmed down the clash.

B-H: Serb Statement on Latest Conflict With Muslims

LD2004195396 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On the occasion of the latest events in Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi] and Doboj, Dragan Kijac, the minister of interior of the Serb Republic issued the following statement:

Operational information gathered by the Ministry of Interior has for a long time been pointing to well-thought-out, planned, and organized activities of the official Muslim authorities in provoking the incidents for which they wish to blame the Serb Republic, the statement said.

The main aims of the aforementioned activities is to discredit the Serb Republic as an equal entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to dimi sh the legitimacy of its power structures. By instigating the mass arrivals of its citizens to some areas of the Serb Republic, the Muslim authority is attempting to provoke incidents and conflicts that could be used as a pretext for actions on the revision or on redefining of the basic Dayton accord achievements, especially those relating to the establishment of the two equal entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Evident examples of Muslims' planned arrivals with the aim of provoking incidents in the areas of Doboj, Brcko, Teslic have been registered in the past. The most drastic is yesterday's example of the conflict at Novi Grad.

Several hundred Muslims in an aggressive mood, with no previous announcement or without any need, with IFOR's [Implementation Force] blessings and support, entered the territory of the Serb Republic in the area of Otoka, near Novi Grad. [passage omitted]

In order to prevent future speculations and misinterpretations of certain measures and activities, the ministry informs the public that, both in this case and in the future, it will protect the constitutional order, territorial unity, personal safety, and property rights of the citizens of the Serb Republic with all legally available measures

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and forces, and in accordance with the Constitution, law, and other decrees. [passage omitted]

B-H: Walker 'Worried' About More Serb-Bosniak Clashes

AU2004181296 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT 20 Apr 96

[By Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, April 20 (AFP)—A top NATO commander said Saturday [20 April] he was "worried" by a recent clash between Serb civilians and Moslem refugees Friday and warned more of such incidents could follow.

Serb and Moslem civilians clashed in two separate incidents in northern Bosnia Friday in the first such large-scale civil unrest here since Bosnia's peace agreement was signed in December, IFOR [Implementation Force] and Bosnian radio said.

General Sir Michael Walker, the number two in the NATO-led peace Implementation Force (IFOR), told reporters in Sarajevo "I do worry that these types of incidents could happen more" in future.

In the first incident Friday, several hundred Moslem refugees and more than 1,000 angry Serbs clashed a few hundred metres (yards) into Serb territory near the tiny town of Otoka, in northwestern Bosnia, an IFOR spokesman, Major Max Marriner said earlier.

The Moslem refugees, who originated from the Otoka region, crossed into Serb territory in an attempt to see their former homes and were met by a crowd of more than a thousand Serbs, the spokesman said. IFOR troops separated the two groups who refused to disperse.

The incident was "ugly and could have easily got out of hand," the officer added.

The groups subsequently dispersed only after shots were fired in the air. The Serbs then returned in a series of buses and started drinking and shouting abuse, the IFOR official said.

The Bosnian Serb radio said there were several "casualties" in the incident which it blamed on Moslems attempting to enter Serb territory. IFOR had no details of injuries.

Bosnian radio meanwhile said that three Moslems were "seriously injured," also on Friday, in fighting between Serbs and a group of Moslem refugees visiting the northern Serb-held town of Teslic to see their former homes.

Several dozen other refugees were "slightly injured" by "extremist Serbs" despite a promise that they would be allowed to visit Moslem cemeteries and their former homes, the radio said in a report that IFOR was unable to confirm.

Under Bosnia's Dayton peace accord signed in Paris last December, dividing the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a Moslem-Croat federation and the Serb-run Srpska Republika, refugees have the right to return to their former homes and cross the internal boundary that separates the two entities.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has appealed to all refugee groups not to enter the other sides' territory in large groups.

Walker said he had protested to authorities of both the Moslem-Croat federation and the Serb Republic about the incidents.

Whenever refugees try to go back home in large numbers "there is a risk—that is why I am very keen to get local and national politicians involved," Walker said.

An enquiry was being conducted, Walker said. The incident at Otaka could have been "an orchestrated and premeditated attempt to cause trouble," he added.

A UNHCR spokesman said the organisation was worried by the Otoka incident which he described as the "most serious" clash since the peace treaty was signed. "It is the first and is not going to be the last," he warned.

NATO commander Admiral Leighton Smith said in Banja Luka that he expected to see "more Serbs wanting to go back to their homes on federation territory and Moslems and Croats wanting to go back to their homes inside Republika Srpska," in coming weeks.

Prior to the campaign of so-called "ethnic cleansing" that saw more than one million non-Serbs forced from their homes in the first year of the conflict, most Bosnians lived in villages, towns and cities in which all three communities, Orthodox, Catholic and Moslem, were largely inter-mingled, with a high proportion of mixed marriages.

B-H: Croats Gather War Crimes Evidence Against Serb Major

AU1904113196 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (Europe Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 96 p 5

[Report by A.M.: "Evidence of Crimes Gathered"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Everything is known about the war crimes committed by Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. There is no doubt as to their guilt as the recently issued warrant for their arrest confirms. Now it appears that notorious Chetnik Major Rajko Radulovic, who

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used to operate with Ratko Mladic, will be following them to The Hague.

The relevant Croatian authorities have gathered plenty of evidence of his guilt. The Split court has gathered evidence of war crimes committed by him and this is ready to be presented to the International War Crimes Tribunal. There is evidence of torture and executions of Croatian soldiers and torture of Croatian civilians in the Dalmatian hinterland (Sinj, Drnis, and Knin). The major used to be the commander of the 221st motorized battalion of the Serb Krajina army and is now the commander of the infantry brigade of the Serb Republic in Banja Luka. He had worked with Ratko Mladic on plans to expel and murder as many Croatian civilians as possible. In September 1991 in Hrvaci he selected nine men from a group of captured Croatian soldiers and demanded intelligence information from them. He then killed several of the prisoners in cold blood.

The evidence against him goes on for ever, as the Hague Tribunal will soon have a chance to find out. An official arrest warrant is about to be issued for Rajko Radulovic.

B-H: Pressure Grows on NATO To Arrest War Crimes Suspects

AU1904180996 Paris AFP in English
1729 GMT 19 Apr 96

[Report by Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, April 19 (AFP)—Pressure is growing on NATO troops to arrest war crimes suspects now that Bosnia's former warring parties have complied for the most part with demands to get their troops off the battlefields, NATO officials and diplomats said Friday.

NATO's top commander in Bosnia, US Admiral Leighton Smith, said in Rome the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) will detain suspected war criminals if it comes across them in the course of their normal duties.

Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Serb military chief General Ratko Mladic were both indicted in July on charges of genocide and crimes against humanity for their role in the war in Bosnia.

"Our forces will detain them," if it comes across them, Smith said.

In Sarajevo, a NATO officer who asked not to be named said Friday the 60,000-strong NATO-led force is coming under increasing pressure to arrest war criminals and tackle a widening range of civilian tasks following the completion of the military phase of the Bosnian peace process.

"There is more pressure. We are not worried. We tackle issues case by case," the officer said.

However, the continuing dominance of Karadzic in Serb politics is seen by Western diplomats and civilian officials as worrying and putting the peace process in Bosnia at risk.

"Sooner or later we're going to have to face up to the problem," a European diplomat told AFP. "That means someone is going to have to arrest or sideline him somehow," he added. "The pressure is on NATO," he said.

The military stage of the Bosnian process was all but completed Thursday with the return of most troops and weapons to barracks and storage points across the country.

IFOR is to announce Saturday a first official assessment of the extent of the return.

Once that is done, and verification completed, the NATO-led force will be freed up to increase its cooperation with the civilian agencies. In Sarajevo, an aide to Carl Bildt, the civilian official charged with overseeing the Bosnian peace process, said Friday, "we will be asking for more and more help as the civilian aspects of the Dayton agreement move ahead."

In Rome, Smith said that following the completion of its main military tasks, IFOR was still facing "difficult tasks" including the return of refugees, extending freedom of movement for civilians, which was not yet total, and dealing with elections due in September.

The NATO-led force is reluctant however to get involved with any tasks that might create dependency on its resources and lead to pressure for it to stay beyond December when its current one-year mandate expires.

British Defence Secretary Michael Portillo, who visited British troops in Bosnia Friday, said he was still working on the assumption that IFOR would leave as planned in December.

"My working assumption, is that this is a NATO operation, in together, working together and out together," he said.

In Vienna, the UN head of peacekeeping operations, Ghanaian diplomat Kofi Annan said, however, that a force of at least 25,000 to 30,000 NATO-led troops should stay in Bosnia beyond December to ensure fighting does not break out again when the 20,000 US soldiers currently in Bosnia leave.

The Ghanaian diplomat said he feared fighting could break out around the northern town of Brcko which is

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still claimed by both the Moslem-Croat federation and the Serbs' Srpska Republika.

B-H: Col Krsmanovic, Serb Soldiers Released, Arrive in Pale

LD2104160696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Apr (SRNA)—Serb Army Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic with 10 Serbs, captured in battles for Mrkonjic Grad and imprisoned in the Croatian prison at the heliport in Mostar, arrived at 1500 today in Pale, accompanied by Michael Steiner, the deputy high mediator.

At his last meeting with Momcilo Krajisnik, the Serb Republic Assembly speaker, Steiner had promised that Krsmanovic would be released, as the Serb authorities had released three Muslim prisoners in Pale.

Muslim authorities kidnapped Col. Krsmanovic at the end of January and then sent him on to The Hague. But the Hague Tribunal freed him of charges for war crimes and returned him to Sarajevo.

Muslim authorities then again tried to bring charges against the Serb colonel, this time for allegedly having ordered the shooting of 40 Muslims at Sokolac, but these charges were also shown to be unfounded.

B-H: Serbs Release Condemned HVO Member in POW Exchange

LD2104161296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—The [Bosnian] Serb authorities released Ivan Stjepanovic, member of the 108th brigade of the Croat Defense Council, and Ibran Mustafic from Srebrenica, after the arrival of Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic and 10 members of the Bosnian Serb army.

In March this year, the Banja Luka Court Martial Council sentenced Ivan Stjepanovic to death for war crimes committed against the Serb civilians.

Stjepanovic and Mustafic departed for Sarajevo, accompanied by Michael Steiner, deputy to the high representative of the international community for the civilian part of the peace agreement.

B-H: Serb General Refuses To Sign Minutes of Sarajevo Meeting

LD2004193896 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A meeting of the joint commission for implementation of the military part of the Dayton agreement was held in Sarajevo today. Representatives of the Serb Republic army, the Croat Defense Council, the Croat-Muslim Federation army, and IFOR [Implementation Force] analyzed the implementation of the peace agreement in section D-120. The conclusion is that all parties to the agreement have respected their obligations regarding the withdrawal of heavy weapons and armies into barracks.

However, Lieutenant General Zdravko Tolimir, aide to the commander of the general staff of the army of the Serb Republic, did not sign the minutes after today's meeting, because this meeting has been used again as an attempt to manipulate the civilian part of the Dayton agreement.

Gen. Tolimir said:

[Begin Tolimir recording] I did not sign the minutes because they had some elements that did not concern the agreement on military aspects of the peace agreement.

Stipulations concerning the implementation of the civilian part of the peace agreement were a moot point—the stipulations on the role of the international police force.

We were informed that the international police force would have the right to decide which checkpoints were legitimate and which were not. On the basis of their decision, IFOR would dismantle such checkpoints.

I assessed this to be a modification of the Dayton agreement and its Annex XI, which defines the role of the international police. [passage omitted]

This is why I did not sign the minutes. I wish to emphasize that there was nothing contestable in the minutes themselves on the implementation of the military aspects of the Dayton agreement by deadline D-120. [end recording]

B-H: Srebrenica Rally Supports Karadzic, Mladic

LD2004141996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Srebrenica, 20 April (SRNA)—We will not give you up to the enemy, was the unanimous call of several thousands Srebrenica residents who gathered today at a rally in support of Dr. Radovan Karadzic, the president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, and Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army. [passage omitted]

The people of Srebrenica were celebrating the first anniversary of their liberation today with a number of cultural and sporting events. They also honored the memory of Goran Zekic, deputy in the Serb Republic Peo-

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ple's Assembly and legendary leader of the Srebrenica Serbs, who was killed in the fighting on 8 May 1992.

B-H: Karadzic Protests British IFOR Transfer to Banja Luka

AU2104134896 Paris AFP in English 1139 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, April 21 (AFP)—Rebel Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic has protested the transfer of the British divisional headquarters in Bosnia to the Serb-held town of Banja Luka, a NATO spokesman said Sunday [21 April].

An adviser to Karadzic telephoned the headquarters of the NATO-led Implementation Force [IFOR] late Saturday to say the Serb leader had not given "his permission" for the move, IFOR spokesman Major Simon Haselock said.

The headquarters of IFOR's southwest multinational division, commanded by British General Michael Jackson, is to move from the Croat-held town of Gornji Vakuf in central Bosnia to the Serb town of Banja Luka in northern Bosnia at the end of the month.

Work has already started on the transfer of the headquarters that will become the first IFOR HQ based on territory belonging to the Serbs' Republika Srpska.

"We got a phone call last night protesting Karadzic had not given his permission. So what? We're entitled to go where we want and we have a contract with the owner of the site," Haselock said Sunday.

Under the Bosnian peace treaty, signed in Paris last December, Karadzic and other suspected war criminals, are barred from holding office in Bosnia and are in theory powerless.

Lieutenant Colonel David Shaw, a spokesman for the British contingent in Bosnia, said the move would not be affected, by Karadzic's objections.

"We don't need his permission. As far as we are concerned, the move is going ahead," Shaw said.

Speaking on condition of anonymity, a senior IFOR officer told AFP Sunday Karadzic's protest appeared to be another sign of a power struggle going on between Serb moderates in Banja Luka and Serb hard-liners based in the official Serb "capital" of Pale, outside Sarajevo.

The move to Banja Luka was negotiated with the Banja Luka-based Bosnian Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic, the officer said. "The Pale people are not happy being sidelined," he said.

There was no indication of what Karadzic might do, if anything, to try to stop the move, Haselock said.

B-H: Koljevic Accuses IFOR of Interfering in RS Elections

AU2204094996 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 96 p 5

[Unattributed report: "IFOR Is Fixing Elections!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic [RS], stated on Friday [19 April] that the preparations for elections in the RS are running "chaotically and irregularly."

He told BETA agency that the "chaos" is the "consequence of the proverbial Serb disunity and political intolerance," and regarding the irregularities, he accused IFOR [Implementation Force], whom he said "is trying to break political unity in the RS."

"IFOR is holding talks with people in Banja Luka, Trebinje, Rogatica, Brcko, and many other places, without our knowledge, or perhaps in spite of our wishes," Koljevic said, adding that the threats that RS President Radovan Karadzic and the military commander General Ratko Mladic will be arrested are contributing to the irregularities in the practical preparations for elections.

Koljevic described his role in the preparations for elections as that of a "mediator." He said that his task was to establish contact with some 30 political parties and persuade them to reach a consensus "on the key national and state interests."

"The most important thing is that we elect to the central organs of the common state (Bosnia-Herzegovina) people who are patriots, people who will be correct and sufficiently clear in their heads on what is possible and what is not," he said.

B-H: Parties Preparing To Take Part in RS Elections

AU2204112696 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 96 p 9

[Article by "E.P.R.": "Post-Dayton Step Over the Drina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The beating that the Socialists in the Serb Republic [RS] recently received from their political opponents is a sure sign that election activity in Bosnia-Herzegovina is in full swing. The international community and opposition parties expect the parties that waged war to vacate the political scene, which would help to revive Bosnia as a united state in the foreseeable future.

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Aware of the still great strength of those who set off to war to divide Bosnia, civic-oriented Bosnians recently sent them a message that they do not want parties from outside Bosnia-Herzegovina territory to take part in the elections.

Nevertheless, along with their preparations for the FRY elections, some Serbian parties have recently been preparing themselves for the election race across the Drina. Apart from the ruling Socialist Party and the JUL coalition, which is close to it (registered under the name of the United Left of the RS), the decision to run for the RS voters was made by the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] and [Zoran] Djindjic's Democratic Party [DS]. The Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] is still weighing the reasons for and against, and the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] and the Civic Alliance of Serbia [GSS] have said a final "no" to the elections in the RS.

The danger, that the participation of Serbian parties in RS political life may mean a formal violation of the integrity of the post-Dayton Bosnia, has been avoided with a simple act—formal registration in Banja Luka. Thereby, according to Vojislav Seselj, "original and autochthonous parties in the RS" have been created.

"We think that it is alright for us to exist as a party in the RS, because that country's status has still not been defined. In any case, we are not threatening that country's international status," Goran Vesic, the Democratic Party's coordinator for the RS, said speaking on the same topic.

According to SPO spokesman Ivan Kovacevic, that party was registered on the entire Bosnian territory as far back as 1992 (and had two deputies in the former assembly), so it is "legally possible, albeit, politically hardly likely, for the SPO to run in the elections on the entire Bosnian territory," Kovacevic emphasized.

"In our opinion, the international community did not ensure conditions for fair and democratic elections in Bosnia. It did not ensure full freedom of movement, the refugee return, or free media either," the SPO spokesman says. However, there have been some unofficial stories in that party about Vuk Draskovic having had contacts with some politicians from across the Drina (such as representative of the Serb Civic Council from Tuzla), so that it is still possible that the SPO people may join the election race there.

The SRS people are already claiming that the RS elections will be irregular and they identify Radio-Television of Serbia [RTS] as the main culprit. "By supporting the Socialists, RTS is openly interfering in the internal affairs of the RS," Vojislav Seselj said recently and proposed that, if it is impossible to have all parties get equal treatment on state television, then the broadcasting of RTS programs to RS territory should be prevented. As it seems at the moment, violations to the principle of party equality will nevertheless not present sufficient reason for the Radicals to give up their intention of having the SRS headed by Nikola Poplasen fight for goals that are, according to Seselj, identical to these the party has in Serbia.

The program of the Democratic Party for the RS, as Goran Vesic puts it, differs from the program for the Serbian DS to the extent to which the RS is specific. "The economic program differs from the one in Serbia because of the different attitude that the international community has toward the RS. We shall also devote more attention to humanitarian activities and the war disabled," Vesic says.

According to Vesic, all parties, except for the JUL and SPS, can appear as Democratic Party's coalition partners in the RS. However, it is already known that there will be no coalition partnership with the Radicals either, because, as Vojislav Seselj emphasized, his party will be consequent in its stand that coalitions are made only after the elections and that the Radical Party will run in the RS elections on its own.

[Box, p 9]

DSS Will Not Run in Elections

A few months ago, the DSS Main Committee decided that the party will not found a "branch" in the RS and run in the elections there. "We consider these to be the times in which our people in the RS are in an objectively very difficult situation, which should not be aggravated even further by introducing political parties," DSS Vice President Mirko Petrovic said on this occasion.

"We are going to extend our support at the elections to all rational political forces of a democratic and national orientation that are against Slobodan Milosevic," Petrovic promised and added the following explanation: "Such is the young and fully authentic Democratic Party of the RS, which is not a branch of Djindjic's DS, but is a fully independent organization and the only one on the territory of the RS with that name. The DSS will also extend its support to the Serb Democratic Party."

[Box, p 9]

Milosevic Ordered Formation of Joint Bloc

JUL and Socialists of the RS might run in the elections within a united list. NASA BORBA has learned that, of course, representatives of the RS "leftist forces" visited Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who assigned the duty of forming a join bloc to them. Confirming

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the report on the meeting with the Serbian president (also attended by Dragutin Ilic, chairman of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [SPRS],) Mico Carevic, head of the United Left of the RS, says that the goal of the said bloc is "to prepare for and hold the elections."

As RS leftists explain, that would in fact mean a joint campaign, which, according to some reports, would also encompass the coordination of the joint financing from the mother republic. Whether the electoral synchronization means creating a joint list of the United Left of the RS and the SPRS will only be definitely known immediately before the elections, but, as the leftists put it, "it is being worked on."

The bloc is supposed to encompass everything leftist on that side of the Drina. As we have learned, visiting President Milosevic, together with Carevic and Ilic, was Miroslav Dodik, head of the Independent Deputies Club. The leftist bloc also includes the participation of the Workers Party of the RS, and a "free intellectuals association" from Banja Luka has also been mentioned.

The election campaign has obviously started and it is clear who is standing behind the leftists on the other side of the Drina. Belgrade Television has lately been reporting that some SPS officials are attending the promotions of the SPRS. Moreover, it is being heard that the JUL Directorate has decided that the United Left of the RS should be renamed JUL, although the court registration has not yet been done.

[Box, p 9]

GSS: "The GSS opposes participation of the antidemocratic parties of SPS and JUL in the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, parties that have inflicted the greatest damage to this former Yugoslav republic," GSS Vice President Milan Paunovic said.

According to Paunovic, democratically oriented parties may take part in the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, albeit, exclusively within a coalition with the country's civic parties.

B-H: Kotor Varos Socialists See RS as 'Challenge'

AU2004155296 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Apr 96

[Report by Radovan Brajkov from Kotor Varos—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Brajkov] Today's rally held by the Kotor Varos Socialists represents a point in the region's political life when activities accomplished heretofore should be reviewed, Rajko Ponorac, member of the Serb Republic [RS] Socialist Party's [SP] Executive Council, told the rally.

We do not want despotism or political dictatorships. We want those in power to understand that power is not an award for their life's work, but an expression of trust granted by the people.

RSSP Vice President Zivko Radisic greeted the rally and said:

[Radisic] We believe that, in securing the interests we fought for, primarily the RS, which, in terms of its natural, human, and other resources, represents both a challenge and a great chance that will allow us to live a happier life. [sentence as heard] We are, however, certain that this will only be possible to the extent that we are capable of defining a consistent, overall system with Yugoslavia and our mother country Serbia, something guaranteed us by the Dayton and Paris peace agreements.

B-H: Lopare Socialists Hold Rally Despite SDS Ban

AU2104195796 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Apr 96

[Report by Tomislav Peric from Lopare]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Problems arose even before the start of the first Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [RSSP] electoral municipal rally in Lopare. Namely, everything was ready for the conference at Hotel Majevica, but the ruling Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] banned the Socialists' rally. Despite the tight schedule, the Lopare Socialists refused to be deterred. They immediately relocated to the village of Vakuf, situated 8 km from Lopare.

The electoral rally began in the presence of the municipal council's delegates, guests from Sremski Karlovci, Bijeljina, Zvornik, and Ugljevik. The anthem, God of Justice, was not played because the authorities had cut the power supply. The rally was also attended by EU representatives, monitors, the European police, and guests from other parties.

First, Risto Radic, president of the initiative council, read a report on the Lopare RSSP's work, and said that 28 local councils with over 700 members had been formed in the entire Lopare municipality in the Mt. Majevica region. Radic also said that the Socialists would be the ones to solve the region's and the people's problems since the most important thing, the end of the war, has been achieved. The elections would show what people think. The current priorities are revival of production, employment, and care for the troops, pensioners, teachers, and other categories of people. [passage omitted]

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B-H: Bildt Views Peace Implementation, Karadzic

AU2204064796 Ljubljana SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 96 pp 12-16

[Interview with Carl Bildt, European Union mediator and cochairman of the International Conference on former Yugoslavia, by Zekarijah Smajic; place and date not given: "Carl Bildt"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Smajic] What is the next step after the Brussels conference?

[Bildt] It is fundamental that the money that was collected is spent on those projects that will ensure the quickest employment and the return of those who left the country. I cannot accept seeing Bosnia-Herzegovina remain a constant beggar. We must now speed up the process. We must begin by "cutting the red tape" regarding the vitally important infrastructure, industry, and apartment-construction projects. I treasure deeply the contacts with ordinary people. IFOR [Implementation Force] is involving itself in civil affairs whenever it is possible to bring them into accord with military matters.

[Smajic] However, what are the strategic priorities?

[Bildt] Very little can be done without electricity. There will be no economy nor development without telecommunications, and no elections either. It is impossible to employ the 200,000 to 300,000 demobilized soldiers without having jobs for them. These people have to be given the possibility to create a profit instead of wielding a gun. Without apartments, there can be no return of the displaced population. Without roads and transportation, Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot even get to Europe.

I know that these are not easy tasks, and this is not a simple list of my wishes or somebody else's wishes. After 42 months of great destruction and the brutality of war, which have not been witnessed on the continent since World War II, what we have done so far and what we have agreed upon at the Brussels Conference are not tasks that are going to be completed in a year. It is a long and painful path. However, it is very significant that has happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina is now totally clear to the international community. It is also clear to everyone what tragedies have occurred in Sarajevo and in other towns. Unfortunately, crude voices continue to be heard from Pale regarding the isolationism and separatism of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs, which are not encouraging for the peace process.

[Smajic] You have, so far, been criticized on several occasions and publicly been called on [prozivati] by the government in Sarajevo. What are the relations between your office and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government like at present?

[Bildt] We cooperate well now, but I would not like to comment on previous criticisms.

[Smajic] And the relations with IFOR?

[Bildt] Very good. Excellent.

[Smajic] At the time of the second donors conference, you issued the most severe comments yet regarding Radovan Karadzic. Is this a sign that he has definitively been written off [otpisan]?

The world would like to help those people who are not guilty in this war. Even the people of the Serb Republic have to know this and take it into consideration. However, Karadzic is afraid of this assistance, and he should be afraid of it, because he knows that peace and the reconciliation between the peoples will send him to The Hague. He is an isolationist who is bringing the most harm to his own people. Karadzic shut the door to this donators' conference as well. In my letter to [Bosnian Serb] Prime Minister Kasagic, I clearly stated that we have no intention of isolating the Serb Republic, but we cannot, for now, even stop them from isolating themselves. If Karadzic threatens Kasagic and prevents the cooperation with the World Bank and the European Union, we are helpless. The only thing that we can do in such a situation is to help the innocent citizens on a humanitarian basis, because this kind of aid is not conditioned by political clauses from the peace agreement. The political conditions must be fulfilled without talks, and this must be done by all sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina. But one of the conditions is that persons who are accused of war crimes cannot hold public functions. The problem is, however, that those accused of war crimes are also walking freely on the territory of the Federation, and not only in the Serb Republic. This has to be prevented quite quickly. I will go over a whole array of possible solutions so that something is done about this plan.

[Smajic] Does this mean that Karadzic could soon be handed over to the custody of the Hague Tribunal?

[Bildt] We are working on the total implementation of the peace agreement. You can be assured that we will be persistent in this matter. There is no giving in and looking the other way.

[Smajic] On the first day of the conference, you said that you would be prepared to vote for the granting of aid to Karadzic only if this money would assist in having him handed over to The Hague.

[Bildt] It is a fact that Karadzic and Ratko Mladic [Bosnian Serb military commander] are still resisting

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their removal from public functions. This is provocative and cannot be tolerated for much longer. Peace is our sacred mission, but while those who have officially been accused of war crimes are still in power, there will be no secure and lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Smajic] Therefore, will those who have not been accused of war crimes remain without the means of reconstruction until Karadzic and his like leave?

[Bildt] Our clear position is that we have to assist in the construction of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina, without preferential treatment. However, very strict conditions do exist, as we have ascertained on numerous occasions: free elections, human rights, democracy, pluralism, cooperation between the entities, cooperation with the United Nations Tribunal, the release of all prisoners except for those that are wanted by the prosecutor's office in The Hague, demilitarization, and so on. The goal of the donations for reconstruction is not only basic restoration, but a restoration for living together, for mutual cooperation between the peoples, for consideration and reconciliation. We see the economy as a means of solving huge problems between nations.

[Smajic] At the conference in Brussels, it remained unclear as to what was agreed upon in Banja Luka on 30 March, when you met with Prime Ministers Muratovic [prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina], Kapetanovic [prime minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation], and Kasagic? Did Kasagic agree to go to Brussels?

[Bildt] We agreed that all entities were to be represented. The Serb Republic was supposed to send three representatives, the Federation was to send the same number, and the central government was to send two. As to why Kasagic did not come, you will have to ask him or Karadzic.

[Smajic] Do you believe that not giving aid to the Serb Republic can lead to a change in the leadership in Pale?

[Bildt] I do not keep the money on me. My office is backed by the World Bank, the European Union, and numerous bilateral decisions on aid for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The political conditions for getting money are not anyone's whim or a coincidence. It is an intentional basic part of the peace agreement; to see who is for peace and who against and to materially assist everyone together. This is so that they will all, together, learn a lesson for the future from the political mistakes made during the war.

[Smajic] What could you say, after all that has happened, to summarize your 10 months of dealing with Bosnia-Herzegovina and the four months of work on the implementation of the peace agreement?

[Bildt] We have, so far, only finished the first phase of the implementation of the Dayton and Paris agreements. The tasks of a military character have dominated and, through these, a structure for the implementations of the civil aspects of the peace agreement has been set up. This was the first test and a very difficult step toward real peace. Now we are in the second phase. The focal point here is the reconstruction and the preparations for the democratic elections. In June this year, we will hold a conference in Florence to evaluate the situation and to view all aspects of the implementation of the peace agreement. The third phase will be the election campaign, and the fourth will come one month after the elections. We have to do all this, and much more, in this year.

[Smajic] Do you believe in this path?

[Bildt] I am convinced that the ordinary people do not want war. The majority want freedom, a decent life, and human dignity. With the economy, you only achieve material goods. Money has no nationality. We are doing everything to turn these people away from evil and to create the conditions for them to live in a manner that is worthy of the civilization to which they belong. Bosnia-Herzegovina is close to the heart of Europe.

B-H: Commentary Warns of Tripartite Division, New War

AU1904123896 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 96 p 2

[Commentary by N. Kazazovic: "Dayton 'Creaking' in Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Is the implementation of the Dayton accord entering a new phase? Owing to events in the political sphere, there is a growing conviction that a de facto division of Bosnia-Herzegovina is actually in progress and that such a division could trigger a new war in the region that would not be possible to localize just within Bosnia-Herzegovina. As for a new war, one should remember that here we have a military protectorate and all the potential instruments of warfare will be dismantled through the implementation of the military part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace accord. If those who have introduced the military protectorate fail to carry this out within a year's time, it is quite certain that they will find a form and way of extending the protectorate as long as there is such a danger. The point is that the military protectorate presupposes both the will and the means to carry it out.

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In the political part of the accord, however, there is no protectorate, but the impression is that it lacks the basic means to implement the accord and achieve the desired results. Moreover, there is no agreement or readiness to introduce such a protectorate in the future. The first phase, that is, the past three and a half months, could be called "the building and strengthening of confidence." Confidence has been understood as the first and necessary link that will bind together the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its complex society. The main difficulty is that this building of confidence in the operative sense has been set up for the forces that started up the war machinery in the first place, so as to destroy the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and divide up its territory. It is no accident that today, more than ever, every broadcast by Pale television ends with the same chorus, that cohabitation is no longer possible at all. On the other hand, in the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia the attitude "You get what you seize!" is widely accepted. Finally, on the Bosniak side there are also tendencies, although to a much lesser extent, to accept the attitude that reality must be accepted, which is, actually like having the tripartite division of Bosnia-Herzegovina enter through the back door.

B-H: UK's Portillo Visits Banja Luka, Comments

LD1904202296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 19 Apr (SRNA)—British Defense Minister [title as received] Michael Portillo arrived in Banja Luka this afternoon aboard a British Royal Air Force HS 146 aircraft.

It was the first landing of a civilian [as received] aircraft at Mahovljani Airport near Banja Luka in the last four years.

At Mahovljani Airport Serb Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic, Serb Defense Minister Milan Ninkovic, and British General Michael Jackson, commander of the IFOR [Implementation Force] Southwest Sector welcomed the guest from Great Britain.

"I hope that in the future such flights will contribute to normalize the situation, both at the airport and throughout the territory of the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation," Portillo said [sentence as received].

The British minister said that, according to the Dayton accord, all armies of the three sides in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina must withdraw to barracks by tonight.

"Some of our troops are ready to move from the present base in Gornji Vakuf to the new base in Banja Luka and I expect they will be welcomed there," Portillo added.

Speaking on IFOR's tasks until the end of the year, when, according to the Dayton accord, their mandate will expire, the British defense minister expressed hope that their cooperation with the representatives of the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation will continue to be on a high level.

According to Portillo, it is within the implementation of the Dayton agreement that all the work relating to the release of the prisoners should be completed and the fate of the missing be learned.

He said the "forces in charge of that task are attempting to create a normal atmosphere and make the people in this region feel safe."

B-H: UK Defense Secretary Meets With Soldiers in West

AU2004131596 Paris AFP in English 0858 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, April 20 (AFP)—Defence Secretary Michael Portillo met British troops serving in western Bosnia on Saturday [20 April] on the third leg of a morale-boosting visit four months into the NATO-led peace operation.

Portillo visited the 1st Queen's Lancashire regiment and 16th Armoured Field Division at bases outside the Serb-held towns of Sipovo and Mrkonjic Grad, Major Gavin Lloyd-Thomas, a spokeman for the NATO-led peace Implementation Force (IFOR), said.

Some 10,500 British soldiers are serving in the 60,000-strong NATO-led force which deployed to Bosnia in December. Portillo flew to the British divisional headquarters of Gornji Vakuf, central Bosnia, Thursday from Croatia and met commanders, civilian officials and Bosnian Defence Minister Vladimir Soljic in Sarajevo Friday.

He visited the northern Serb town of Banja Luka to meet troops of the Light Dragoons and 2nd Battalion, Light Infantry later Friday.

Speaking to reporters on his arrival in Bosnia on Thursday, Portillo said the purpose of his visit was to bring himself up to date with the situation on the ground four months after the peace treaty ending three and a half years of bloody conflict was signed in Paris in December.

"We are extremly pleased with the way the IFOR operation has proceded," the minister said.

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Portillo was also in Bosnia to take a look at a new site for the British divisional headquarters, which also covers Dutch, Canadian, Czech and other contingents in western Bosnia, which moves at the end of the month to Banja Luka.

Speaking in Gornji Vakuf on Thursday, Portillo said the move to the largest Serb held town in Bosnia was a significant demonstration of IFOR's "impartiality" between the Moslem-Croat federation and the Serbs' Srpska Republika.

Diplomats detect a more "moderate" Serb leadership in Banja Luka than in the Serb "capital" of Pale, where the indicted warlord Radovan Karadzic has his base.

And a senior IFOR officer speaking on condition of anonymity, said Friday the siting of the British IFOR base in Banja Luka was hoped to strengthen the influence of the "moderates", who are still seen as subject to Karadzic's power base.

Portillo was due to stay overnight at Sipovo Saturday before returning to London on Sunday.

No press conference was scheduled before his departure, Lloyd-Thomas said.

B-H: Malaysian State Delegation Concludes 4 Contracts

AU1904190696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 96

[Report by Fuad Cibukcic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Malaysian state-business delegation has had a rich program in Sarajevo today. This afternoon the Malaysian business delegation held talks with numerous Bosnia-Herzegovina businessmen in the Energoinvest building. This was only the first part of the planned meetings between the businessmen.

At 1505 Mahathir Mohamed, head of the state delegation and Malaysian prime minister, received a high order of the Dragon of Bosnia, which was handed to him by President Alija Izetbegovic. The ceremony for the presentation of this high order was attended by members of the Presidency, the Government of the Republic, and the federation, and many other guests.

Here is what President Izetbegovic said on that occasion:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Your Excellency, esteemed Mr. Mahathir. It is my pleasure to present you the Golden Order of the Dragon of Bosnia, which is awarded to you by the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This order is an expression of gratitude and recognition to Malaysia, the Malaysian people, and to you personally for everything you have done for Bosnia-Herzegovina in its most difficult days. The help from friendly countries has been very important in the struggle of our people, in our resistance against aggression.

Like Bosnia, Malaysia is also a multiethnic country, consisting of several nations and religions that have reached a national consensus leading to the prosperity of the country. In that respect the experience of your country represents a valuable example to us.

I would also like to assure you, Mr. Mahathir, that in the eyes of every Bosnian you, personally, are a great example of courage and statesman's wisdom in the struggle for the freedom of your people.

You will tour the city of Sarajevo tomorrow. Unfortunately you will see its wounds. I would like you to remember Sarajevo not only as a city that is an example of suffering, but also as an example of courageous resistance against aggression. [end recording]

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed thanked President Izetbegovic for the order, and stressed:

[Begin Mohamed recording, in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] Your Excellency, I am deeply touched and honored by the Order of the Dragon of Bosnia that has been awarded to me by the Government and Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I humbly accept this award, and will remember the victims, all those who fought against ethnic cleansing and all the forces that tried to destroy them. I also sympathize, with deep honor, with all those who took part in the UN forces, among whom were my people, the Malaysian UN contingent. [end recording]

The state delegation led by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed then went to Energoinvest's business center, where businessmen from Bosnia-Herzegovina and about 15 heads and deputy heads of the largest Malaysian corporations established many business contacts through separate agreements.

In the presence of Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed and a number of Malaysian and Bosnia-Herzegovina officials, Energoinvest General Director Edip Bukovic and Mr. (Zulfili Zainel Azim), executive director of Energomal, signed an agreement on the transfer of technology and technical assistance to the joint enterprise of Energomal in Malaysia.

Three more agreements were signed, one between Telecom of Malaysia and PTT [Post, Telephone, Telegraph] of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the development of a telecommunications infrastructure and its servicing;

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the second an agreement between Business Focus from Malaysia and Union Invest; and the last an agreement between Cetron and (?Pervelektro). [passage omitted]

On behalf of the Sultan of Brunei, Malaysian Mahathir Mohamed today handed to Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a check for 10 million Brunei dollars, or $7.069 million; this donation is to aid the country's refugees. [passage omitted]

B-H: Malaysia Offers Credit for Palm Oil Purchase

BK2004121196 Kuala Lumpur Voice of Malaysia in English 0800 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Malaysia is offering a U.S.$5-million credit facility to Bosnia-Herzegovina to purchase 8,000 tons of palm oil as part of its assistance in the reconstruction of the war-ravaged Balkan state. Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir Mohamed said Malaysia is prepared to have a bilateral payment arrangement to facilitate trade relations between Malaysia and Bosnia. He said the government had also asked the private sector to look into ways which [words indistinct] construction process, including the development of housing projects.

He said this at a joint press conference with his counterpart Dr. Hasan Muratovic in Sarajevo. Dr. Mahathir, accompanied by Datin Sri Dr. Siti Hasmah Mohamed Ali and his delegation of top businessmen and senior officials, is on a second leg of a four-day tour of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia to promote trade ties and reconstruction of the war-torn states.

B-H: Malaysian Prime Minister Addresses Peacekeepers

BK2204022296 Kuala Lumpur Radio Malaysia Network in Malay 1200 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir Mohamed has expressed regret over the attitude of certain Western powers toward the peace efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said some of them feel they should not have recognized the country. The prime minister said many of the leaders think that if they had not accorded recognition at such an early stage, Bosnia would have been taken over by the Serbs. Then there would not have been any problems.

Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir said this while addressing the Malaysian contingent, MALCON, serving under the peace implementation force in Livno, about 200 km from Sarajevo:

[Begin recording] We do not hesitate to condemn those who talk about protecting human rights but are willing to see 270,000 Bosnians killed before their eyes. In fact, these people returned a safe haven to the Serb aggressors, and today they know that after the area was returned the Serbs killed thousands of Bosnian youngsters there. [end recording]

Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir spent over two hours with Malaysian soldiers in Livno before he left for Skopje, Macedonia. The prime minister and his entourage flew in from Split aboard a British Army Chinook helicopter. He said Malaysia is helping Bosnia not just because they are Muslims, but because of respect for human rights.

The prime minister warned the Malaysian soldiers in Bosnia to be conscious of the need to help Bosnia and to ensure that they are not captured by the Serbs. He said Malaysia will continue to send soldiers to Bosnia as long as they are needed by the Bosnian Government, even though Malaysia must bear the expense. He added that the Bosnian Federation hopes to send politicians to Malaysia to observe how a multiracial population is able to live peacefully.

Malaysia has about 1,600 soldiers in Bosnia.

B-H: Malaysian Prime Minister Departs for FYROM

AU2004132996 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 20 Apr 96

[By Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, April 20 (AFP)—Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad and a delegation of businessmen ended a visit to Bosnia Saturday [20 April] after holding detailed talks on trade and reconstruction, World Bank and Bosnian officials said.

The delegation discussed future investments in the housing, civil engineering, hotel, energy and automobile industries and signed contracts on technology transfer with several companies, said Rory O'Sullivan, the World Bank's director of mission here.

"This was the biggest, most impressive delegation we have had here yet," said O'Sullivan, whose office is coordinating the international effort to rebuild the Bosnian economy, shattered by nearly four years of war.

"I hope it will lead to a whole series of contracts being signed in the near future," he added.

Speaking to reporters on his arrival in Bosnia Friday, Mahathir said he had "held very useful talks about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina...and also on how Malaysia can be of help in reconstruction."

The Malaysian delegation signed two contracts with the electricals group Sarajevo Ergoinvest, one with

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the national telecoms group PTT and another with civil engineering group Unioninvest, an official at the Sarajevo Chamber of Commerce said.

Details of the contracts will be announced next week, said Saliha Osmanagic, head of the Chamber of Commerce's economic department.

"Economic cooperation with Malaysia was at a pretty low level before the war but we hope it will increase now," she added.

Officials were not available Saturday to detail Malaysia's pre-war trade with Bosnia.

A Bosnian Economics Ministry official said that Sarajevo Ergoinvest had agreed to "transfer technology for the production of high voltage electrical equipment" to Malaysian energy group Energomal. The transfer will start immediately and end within six years, he added.

It was the first visit to Bosnia by Mahathir, who has been a vocal supporter of the country throughout the war which started in April 1992.

At a meeting in Brussels earlier this month, the international donor community pledged to provide 1.8 billion dollars to Bosnia this year to rebuild its economy and infrastructure which was shattered in the war.

Malaysia pledged 12 million dollars in direct aid.

The World Bank has set a target of 5.1 billion dollars for the next three to four years.

Recognising Malaysia's support during the war, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic on Friday awarded Mahathir the Dragon of Bosnia medal, one of the country's highest honours.

Mahathir invited Izetbegovic to visit Malaysia and Izetbegovic "happily" accepted, the official news agency B-H PRESS said. No date was announced for the visit.

The Malaysian delegation flew on from Sarajevo to The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]. The visit to Bosnia followed a one-day visit to Croatia Thursday to boost economic cooperation, Malaysian officials in Zagreb said.

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Croatia: Susak Says Zagreb 'Resolute' To Recover E. Slavonia

AU2204120196 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 96 p 6

[Unattributed report: "If Necessary, Even by Arms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak stated on Saturday [20 April] that one should try again to solve the problem of eastern Slavonia in a peaceful way, but Croatia remained resolute to get it back, and if necessary, even by arms.

"We are still watching Vukovar from a distance. Let us give a chance to people living there and the international community to do something about it, so as to prevent any casualties. But let us be ready to liberate every single inch of the Croatian land, if this proves necessary," Susak said at the celebration of the third anniversary of the 7th Guard Brigade of the Croatian Army called Puma, that took place in Varazdin.

Croatia: Weekly Says Bosnian Muslim Leaders Hate Croats

AU2204074796 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 96 pp 32-33

[Commentary by Goran Rosic: "Unitarianism With Folded Hands"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Almost immediately after the Sarajevo Agreement on the regeneration of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation was signed (30 March), the Bosnian Muslim leaders made haste to discredit that document. They deliberately launched the Declaration on an Integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. If we bear in mind that the initiators of that declaration were Alija Izetbegovic and Haris Silajdzic, their aspirations are clear. They want to achieve a unitary, civic Bosnia-Herzegovina in which the Bosnian Muslims will always outvote the other two constitutional nations on matters regarding their basic rights.

However, the declaration had yet another meaning. Since it was launched only a couple of days after the Agreement on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, it indirectly showed the Croats how much the Bosnian Muslim leadership really cares about creating a common state in which the two nations would be equal. For added effect, the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] denounced "their man" Ejup Ganic—cosignatory of the Sarajevo Agreement, with Kresimir Zubak—with quasi-argumentation that he had betrayed the vital interests of his people by signing that document. In other words, for the SDA leadership, cooperation with the Croats is treason.

Simultaneously, there were a number of articles in the Bosnian press about "Tudjman's Fascist-Nazi regime," about the alleged alliance between Belgrade and Zagreb, about the global conspiracy aimed at dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina, and about IFOR [Implementation Force] as an occupying force. Their purpose was to create in Bosnian Muslims a feeling of being threatened by every other party (but Croats were carefully given the leading part!) in order for the declaration to receive a warmer welcome among the people.

Izetbegovic's Insult to the Croats

This perfidious, hidden campaign culminated in Alija Izetbegovic's interview for the Bosnian state television (7 April). It was broadcast precisely on Easter Day, which only added to its political significance. Izetbegovic made many controversial statements on that occasion, and, as a result, the state press agency, BH PRESS, broke their rule of transmitting all Izetbegovic's interviews. For the Croats, the most significant and offensive statement was that their response to the appeal to defend Bosnia-Herzegovina was minimal. Such a statement is an insult to the entire nation since it is well known who was the first to take up arms against the Greater Serbian invasion. However, this statement was made on purpose. Izetbegovic is aware that young Croats lost their lives in Posavina, Ravno, Kupres, etc, while he was still dreaming of a possible compromise with Milosevic and putting faith in the Yugoslav National Army, which still existed at the time. Moreover, Croats defended Sarajevo too, and Izetbegovic cannot deal with that. He cannot accept that the Croatian people managed to play an important role in the defense of as much of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina as possible while he was sitting in Sarajevo with his hands folded.

In order to hide this historical truth from "his" people and raise himself to the role of "the father of the country," he has to talk about the Croats as an enemy who occupied the country and about their "Fascist, Nazi ideology," to place Milosevic and Tudman on the same level, and to speak all kinds of nonsense. His statement that the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] troops will not get bonds—foreign currency funds deposited in the Sarajevo Joint Stock Commercial Bank to amounts from 16,000 to 28,000 German marks, which every Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldier will be paid for the four years spent in their formations and on the basis of which they will be able to buy houses or apartments—is the best evidence. He again deceives "his" public with quasi-argumentation, alleging that the HVO soldiers have already been paid with the money "stolen" from Bosnian Muslims by the "Herzeg-Bosnian mafia" through customs duties. However, the essence of

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that decision is to prevent the HVO from being placed on the same level with the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and thus to be considered an equal defender of the country. Further evidence is provided by the situation that took place during the session of the Constitutional Assembly of the Federation (12 April), where there was no consent on some matters of the new law on defense because of the lack of cooperation on the part of the Bosnian Muslim leaders. The matter of joint command is disputable, but so is the possibility of individual choice of the formation to do military service in.

The Old Bosnia-Herzegovina Is Not Possible

When we bear that in mind, it is clear why the Bosnian Muslim leadership hates the Croats. Everything else is just a superstructure (varying from a Muslim state to a union with Serbia), which—unfortunately—tends to create an anti-Croatian disposition, even among the common Bosnian Muslim people. Therefore, no one should be surprised by the conversation of two young men in front of the Imperial coffeehouse (owned by the "Progress" Croatian cultural society) in the center of Sarajevo, one young man telling the other that he would not enter the coffeehouse as long as it is owned by a Croat.

When we consider all that, it is clear that the Bosnian Muslim leadership is not ready to accept the situation created by the Dayton Agreement—the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is no more and never will be again, the world does not want a Muslim state in the heart of Europe, and their dreams of a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina dominated by only one nation have been shattered. Furthermore, Alija Izetbegovic has to rid himself of his personal and historical frustrations and accept the fact that coexistence with the Croats—as well as the state shaped as the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina—is not only inevitable, but also a guarantee of the existence of the two nations in their present home. The Croats are a constitutional nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and no declaration, agreement, or statement can deny them their rights—directly or indirectly. They gave their lives to survive and remain in their homes in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Federation can really be established only after this fact is accepted in Sarajevo. If anyone does not want to accept it, they should speak their mind, and not try—like Izetbegovic—to deceive "their" people and the international community.

Croatia: Zagreb City Assembly Rift Over Appointed Mayor

LD2204111796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Zagreb City Assembly at today's session adopted a resolution requesting the republic's Ministry of Administration to take action because of, it was said, the illegal work of the appointed mayor, Marina Matulovic-Dropulic. The resolution was carried by the votes of 28 councillors from the alliance of seven opposition parties.

Prompted by the offensive words of Councillor Predrag Raos, who was warned by Assembly Chairman Zdravko Tomac for this, all the councillors from the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] left the session.

At a news conference attended by HDZ Secretary Ivan Valent, the party's councillors demanded a public apology from the chairman of the City Assembly.

At another news conference, in the presence of the chairmen of the seven opposition parties, Chairman Zdravko Tomac refused to apologize because he had refused to allow the mentioned councillor to speak because of his inappropriate behavior.

Croatia: Possible New Defense Ministers Profiled

AU2204075396 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by Davor Butkovic: "Who Will Replace Gojko Susak, the Croatian Defense Minister?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] All Croatian dailies published on Saturday, 13 April, that Lieutenant General Kresimir Cosic, the deputy defense minister, received Sir Dudley Smith, the chairman of the European Union Parliamentary Assembly. It was one in a series of reports on meetings between Lieutenant General Cosic and international political and military officials in which he represented Minister Susak.

While Cosic talked in Zagreb with the highest-ranking representative of the European Union, Minister Susak was decorating the soldiers of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Ljubuski.

Since almost nothing important is happening in Herzegovina at the moment—there have been no new demonstrations in Mostar; the conflict between the Franciscan order and the Bishop of Mostar has calmed down, temporarily at least; no radical changes in the leadership of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] of Herzeg-Bosnia have been announced—there is no political reason for the Croatian minister to get together with the

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soldiers and officers of the military police of Herzeg-Bosnia in Ljubuski instead of receiving the influential British politician in Zagreb.

When he returned to Croatia three weeks ago, Minister Susak openly admitted that he struggled "against a serious illness." In this way Gojko Susak denied the clumsy statements made by his closest assistants—including one issued by the leadership of the counterintelligence service of the Defense Ministry—that he went to an elite hospital in Washington for treatment of an impacted spinal nerve!

State media reporters have recently directly confirmed that the Croatian defense minister is seriously ill. Susak has appeared in public on several occasions since he returned to the country. Approximately 10 days ago, in a special session of the government convened because of the U.S. aircraft accident near Dubrovnik, Susak barely succeeded in uttering a few sentences about the investigation work carried out by the Defense Ministry.

Most of the defense minister's public duties have been taken over by his deputy, Lieutenant General Kresimir Cosic, who was assigned Susak's tasks during his hospitalization. Cosic was not engaged in politics before.

The Delicate Problem of a Successor

The fact that he himself admitted having a serious disease, and his absence from important public events in which his presence was expected, have once again given rise to the extremely delicate question of the real health condition of the Croatian defense minister, who is the second most powerful politician in the state, as well as about his physical ability to perform his duties.

From the point of view of humanity it is somehow understandable that the government, the Ministry of Defense, or the President's Office have not published the real diagnosis of Susak's illness, with the explanation that that is his personal business.

GLOBUS has received precise information about his diagnosis, but the editorial board considers it immoral to publish these data if the minister himself and his family do not want them to be published.

Gojko Susak's ability to perform the duties of the defense minister and those of the closest assistant to President Tudjman are not at all his—or anybody else's—private problem any longer.

These tasks are connected with one of the most important matters of the state.

Croatian citizens are entitled to know to what extent Mr. Susak is able—from the medical point of view—to perform the duties of the head of the most important government department.

As long as it is not clear when Minister Susak will be able to resume his duties, one of the most important political questions in Croatia will be which position his successor will have, and the operational redefinition of the tasks Susak has performed.

The appointment of any other HDZ politician to the position of the defense minister would change the balance of powers in the government; it would make that politician one of the most influential HDZ leaders, which would be directly reflected in the functioning of some parts of the ruling system.

It is indicative that Stipe Mesic—who was Susak's close assistant for four years—claims that Susak cannot be replaced by one man only "but by 10 or 15 people, since his powers are that broad." In other words, in order to understand the real importance of Susak's position, it must be borne in mind that he is allegedly one of only three politicians (the other two are Tudjman and Sarinic), who was entitled to sign secret accounts abroad from which illegal purchases of weapons were paid.

Gojko Susak is also one of a small number of people who know which and how many weapons were bought as well as how the money Croatian emigrants have sent to the country during the last five years has been distributed (it must be rememebered that Susak was minister for emigration until September 1991). Gojko Susak is the only Croatian minister who knows how Yugoslav dinars were taken from Croatia to Bosnia-Herzegovina, where they were changed into German marks. The other main protagonist of that big financial operation, Jozo Martinovic, Greguric's finance minister, died in the meantime.

Apart from that, Gojko Susak is the only Croatian politician (apart from, perhaps, the president himself) who knows exactly how much money Croatia spends from its budget for the needs of the institutions of Herzeg-Bosnia.

It is quite certain that the Ministry of Defense is the main financier of Herzeg-Bosnia and its military formations. Gojko Susak also personally controls (with the supervision of Miroslav Tudjman) the military counterintelligence service, and Susak's wife Djurdja used to be employed by one of the Croatian intelligence agencies.

Susak's power in the HDZ does not arise only from his excellent relations with a part of the Croatian emigre community but even more from the fact that he is the only HDZ politician who can control events in Herzeg-Bosnia and who enjoys the full confidence

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of President Tudjman. After all, it was Susak who in a particular period kept up the relations between the HDZ, the President, and the Croatian Catholic Church; Susak visited Mostar when a conflict broke out there last autumn between the bishops and one of the local religious orders. Susak's connections with the Franciscan order are extremely strong: They helped him leave Yugoslavia in the 60's.

In spite of these huge powers—according to which Susak can be compared only with the president and Josip Manolic until his fall in the spring of 1993—he succeeded in avoiding a public, and allegedly also a private, conflict with President Tudjman.

Therefore not even the strongest of his opponents question his personal influence on the president. It seems that Stipe Mesic is completely right when he claims that Gojko Susak, with all of his powers, duties, and personal contacts, cannot be replaced by a single man. Since neither the government nor the Defense Ministry, the President's Office, nor the HDZ leadership want to comment publicly on Susak's ability to perform his duties from the point of view of his health, it is evident that the covert competition for his successor—a formal one at least—has already begun.

Successor's Identikit

Taking into consideration the complexity of Susak's duties (to the already enumerated powers connected with domestic policy, his good connections with the U.S. military and political leadership must be added, too), it is relatively easy to make an Identikit of a possible successor.

The successor to the successful and powerful defense minister should be a native of Herzegovina, or at least of Imotski or Bosnia, so that Susak's good connections with the structures of Herzeg-Bosnia established on the basis of his origin and the origin of a large part of the Croatian emigrants can be upheld.

Susak's successor is expected to be a longtime assistant to President Tudjman, since he must be acquainted with the most important state secrets: From the behavior of the Information and Security Service through the data about the performed military operations (including the politically undesirable, like the war with the Muslims) to the (necessary) illegal channels for the acquisition of weapons.

Susak's successor should also be well acquainted with the relations within the Croatian state and party leaderships. He must be of the rightist political orientation and a fierce nationalist, in order not to put the structure of the state and the party hierarchy at stake, in which defense has for the last five years been in the hands of the political right, and the police on the political left or with liberals.

Last but not least, the successor must know the extremely complicated relations in the General Staff and in other command structures of the Croatian Army, in which there are not only conflicts between the remaining officers from the Yugoslav People's Army and those who obtained their ranks in the latest patriotic war, but also a powerful disloyal competition between brigadiers and generals who participated in the latest war, since they are not happy with their postwar positions. There are only a few people in the Croatian political and military leadership who can fulfill some of the above mentioned criteria.

Candidate: Miomir Zuzul

Miomir Zuzul has to be mentioned first. Zuzul, after his serious conflict with Mate Granic, the Croatian foreign minister, was sent as the Croatian ambassador to Washington. In this position he can very often been seen on various occasions on television, but now he has a considerably smaller influence than at the time when he—acting between Zagreb and Geneva (where he was the Croatian representative to the United Nations)—tried reach Granic's position.

The appointment of Miomir Zuzul to the position of defense minister would be his triumphant political comeback.

Zuzul, a professor of child psychology, was born in Split on 19 June 1955. He used to be a high school teacher in Imotski.

Zuzul used to be a close friend of Miroslav Tudjman, the head of all Croatian intelligence services, until the moment when a scandal about the privatization of a factory in Samobor broke out, in which his wife Tajana was involved.

It is especially important to point out that Zuzul justified the existence of Herzeg-Bosnia and the Croatian-Muslim war in 1993!

Miomir Zuzul, a former basketball player who speaks very good English, wears a Rolex Submariner watch with a gold wristband and very expensive British shoes (most probably "Church" or "Gordon Scott"), and who has relatively good relations with the U.S. diplomats who are in charge of Croatia, is perhaps the most likely successor to Minister Susak.

One of his advantages is that he personally participated in the creation of the Information-Psychological Department of the Defense Ministry, which was later transformed into the present Political Directorate and into a

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part of the Security Information Service. This means that he is very well acquainted with the internal organization of the Defense Ministry and with the relations both there and in the Croatian Army. His main drawbacks are a large number of opponents in the state leadership and a relatively low position in the HDZ hierarchy.

Candidate: Ivic Pasalic The second likely candidate for the new defense minister is Ivic Pasalic, the adviser to the president for domestic policy and a former main HDZ secretary. Pasalic fulfills all the basic political requirements for this position. He is a prominent and one of the least publicly disgraced members of the HDZ right wing. He is of an appropriate origin (he was born in the vicinity of Tomislavgrad), and he is very well acquainted with the political intrigues at the court.

Pasalic is extremely ambitious. Deputies and assistants to the minister of internal affairs have been claiming for two years already that he has been trying to replace Ivan Jarnjak, the minister, who—despite all of his conflicts in the HDZ retained good relations with Franjo Greguric [former prime minister], Nikica Valentic [former prime minister], and Josip Manolic [former minister of internal affairs].

The young and presentable medical doctor from Zagorje, with origins in Herzeg-Bosnia and strong connections in the Herzegovina lobby, including the former firm support of Vice Vukojevic, can hope to be appointed to the position of defense minister if Gojko Susak is forced to abandon his duties because of his health.

Pasalic's biggest drawback is that he is hated by part of the HDZ leadership. This is especially true of technocrat managers of the HDZ as well as of Zlatko Canjuga.

Apart from that, Ivic Pasalic has no authority in the Croatian military intelligence hierarchy.

Candidate: Luka Bebic

In contrast to Miomir Zuzul and Ivic Pasalic, who tend toward political conflicts and are ethically questionable, Luka Bebic, the present head of the Office for National Security, is, at first sight, the most acceptable successor to Susak.

Luka Bebic used to be a communist official after the "Croatian spring" was broken [in 1971]. He is now a kiwi and mandarin orange producer in the Neretva valley; he is the closest personal friend of Vladimir Seks and he already performed the duties of defense minister in the late summer of 1991.

In mid-September 1991 he was dismissed for formal reasons—because he publicly declared a ceasefire with the Yugoslav People's Army too early, and because he—in Drazen Budisa's words—pracucally opposed the uncontrolled weapons imports, in which Susak played the most important role.

In the party conflict which started in the spring of 1991 and culminated a year later, Bebic decisively took Seks's and Vukojevic's part, although he tried to point out in his interviews that he was a leftist by his political vocation.

Several months ago Bebic took over the position of the UNS [expansion unknown] chairman from Miroslav Tudjman, since the circumstances required it. Bebic was for a long time the chairman of the parliamentary Committee for National Security.

Because of his closeness to the HDZ right wing, his relatively good connections with the Herzegovina lobby, and his knowledge of the military and security mechanisms of the Republic of Croatia, Bebic could replace Gojko Susak.

On the other hand, he has never shown the elementary instincts of a leader (and Susak is a leader of a very influential Croatian political group). Bebic could not or did not want to take over the highest state responsibilities for a period longer than several months.

If the president really appointed Bebic new defense minister, this would only be a temporary solution, suitable because it would not provoke political conflicts within the HDZ.

It is obvious, however, that Luka Bebic is not able to impose his political will on the defense and state security department as powerfully as this has been done by Susak. Whereas Bebic, the present UNS head, could be an acceptable short-term political solution, General Markica Rebic, the present head of the Security Information Service (SIS), the military counterintelligence service, is a completely different case.

Candidate: Markica Rebic

Markica Rebic is not a politician. It has to be admitted that he did try to become politically active in the 1990 election campaign, but like all activists of the then Coalition of National Agreement, he suffered a complete debacle. Rebic, like Zuzul, also used to teach at the Imotski high school. At the beginning of the war he participated together with Miroslav Tudjman in the creation of the Croatian military agency for propaganda and psychology and in the creation of the SIS, the military counterintelligence service.

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Rebic personally participated in all key military operations in the spring and summer of 1995, including "Oluja" and the offensive on Banja Luka, which was, unfortunately, not completed.

General Markica Rebic might be acceptable to both the ultraright HDZ wing and the managerial liberal wing of the party because of his full Croatian origin and the fact that he became a general in this war. Rebic is probably acceptable to the leaders of the military and intelligence hierarchy, since he proved to be a good soldier and since he perfectly knows it. Rebic's main limiting factor is that he has never been engaged in domestic politics, he has never been a member of a HDZ governing body, and he is not used to fierce clashes between factions.

Markica Rebic does not seem to be politically qualified to replace Minister Susak!

Candidate: Slobodan Praljak

The fifth possible candidate to replace Susak is the former commander of the Croatian Defense Council, Colonel Slobodan Praljak. The retired General Praljak, born in Capljina in 1945, fulfills some of the criteria for that position.

He has good connections with Herzeg-Bosnia, he enjoys a good reputation with the right HDZ faction, and knows the internal structure and the way in which the Defense Ministry functions because he used to perform the duty of the head of the Political Directorate. Praljak's biggest limitation is that he has never been in the HDZ leadership. On the contrary, in the 1990 election he was a counter candidate to Tudjman in the Zagreb borough of Dubrava.

Apart from that, Praljak is extremely tactless as a politician. In the politically very sensitive position of defense minister, Praljak should fully change his noisy and uncompromising communication style.

The Croatian government—let us repeat this once again—should have already informed the people on whether and when Minister Gojko Susak will fully resume his duties. As long as the government has not made a clear statement about Susak's working capability, the doubts about his replacement will be one of the key issues of Croatian politics, to which probably not even President Tudjman has an answer for the time being.

Croatia: HSLS Chairman Says Conflict With HDZ To Intensify

AU1904145096 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Apr 96 p 8

[Unattributed report on interview with Vlado Gotovac, new chairman of the Croatian Social Liberal Party; place and date not given: "Either for Tudjman or Against the Fatherland"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—In Croatia, the political conflict between the government party, the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) led by President Tudjman, and the entire opposition will intensify. This might lead to further polarization of the political landscape, with the powerful HDZ and some insignificant vassal parties facing a united opposition. Writer and essayist Vlado Gotovac, the new chairman of the strongest opposition party, the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLS), expressed this view in an interview with FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE.

Already at this point the disquieting question arises as to whether the HDZ and Tudjman would be willing to relinquish power if they should lose future elections. The quarrel over the mayor of Zagreb, who has not yet assumed office six months after the elections, is a clear sign that the HDZ wants to retain power at any cost, Gotovac stressed. During local elections for the Zagreb government, which took place together with early parliamentary elections on 29 October last year, the HDZ lost its absolute majority in the capital but remained the strongest party. Since then, the opposition parties, which formed a grand coalition as it were against the HDZ in the city parliament, have elected four HSLS candidates as lawful mayors.

Yet President Tudjman refused to confirm the installation of the four lawfully elected mayors. According to a law for the capital Zagreb, the election of the Zagreb mayor, who is at the same time the prefect of the Zagreb district where a quarter of Croatia's population lives, must be confirmed by the president of the republic. Instead, Tudjman installed a female candidate from the HDZ as mayor of Zagreb, to which he is entitled on the basis of the law. However, she was rejected by the city government. The HDZ argues that the voters of Zagreb voted for different opposition parties from the right to the left wing and not for the grand alliance for the election of a mayor, forged after the elections. For this reason, the HDZ, as the strongest party, is entitled to fill the mayor's position. The opposition claims that it was the HDZ's unrestrained claim to power that led to the unification among the opposition, against which the HDZ can neither lodge legal nor political objections.

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Gotovac described the never ending power struggle in Zagreb as an "absurd conflict." The opposition tried to settle it with a draft law according to which the prefects of Croatia's 21 administrative districts would no longer have to be confirmed by the president. However, the HDZ rejected this draft in parliament at the end of March. Thus, an end to the struggle over Zagreb is not in sight. Polls reveal that Tudjman's rigid position has had a negative impact on the HDZ, which would probably suffer severe losses in new elections for the Zagreb government.

Since the disappointing result for the HDZ in early parliamentary elections last October, with which the government party wanted to gild the military victory over the Serbian militia in the so-called Krajina politically, the HDZ has been insecure and afraid of losing power. The opposition, however, which was a "political hostage" of the government during the war, has gained additional leeway and influence, Gotovac stated. This is another reason for the sharper tone. The HDZ and Tudjman defame political opponents as internal enemies of the young Croatian state who cooperate with external enemies of Croatia's freedom and sovereignty. Gotovac rejected allegations that opposition circles advocate the restoration of some kind of Yugoslavia as absurd. Virtually nobody wants to have Yugoslavia back in any form, and everybody recognizes the achievements of the HDZ in the struggle for independence. Such reproaches are part of a strategy designed to "demonize the opposition in a totalitarian manner." Who is not for the HDZ, which is allegedly the only political force that can guarantee freedom and independence, is also against Croatia. "Television, which is totally controlled by the HDZ," plays a special role in this campaign.

Gotovac believes that a "nearly obsessive identification with the state" on the part of President Tudjman is behind that. This is understandable from a historic viewpoint because the Croatian nation had to wait for such a long time to become a separate state. Yet this obsession with the state prevented Croatia's democratization and finally had the effect that "the HDZ now talks in the same way as the communists used to." Those who want a democratic change of power are described as putchists. Generally, the category of the political opponent has been completely replaced with that of enemy of the state. Even during the most recent strike by the railway workers—an expression of a social and not even a political conflict—the HDZ and the media supporting it published polemic statements.

Gotovac is particularly worried about a possible increase in social tensions. The HDZ is afraid of social unrest and therefore reacts in a very sensitive manner ... demands by trade unions and associations representing certain interests for wage and pension increases. For the opposition and for his party in particular, the strategically difficult question arises as to what extent the continuing economic difficulties should be included in the political dispute. The good performance of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the successor party to the former Communist League, in parliamentary elections last October is, above all, due to the fact that the SDP focused to a greater extent than other parties on social problems during the election campaign. However, if large demonstrations against economic misery and long-lasting strikes should take place, parliament might be dissolved and martial law imposed. "Yet, at some point, we will have to take the risk and call for large demonstrations against the government," Gotovac stressed.

Croatia: Helsinki Committee Chairman Views Krajina

AU1904173196 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 96 p 9

[Interview with Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, chairman of the Croatian Helsinki Committee, by Vukan Simonovic; place and date not given: "Some 2,000 Serbs Have Been Accused and Still Not a Single Croat"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Croatian Helsinki Committee is predominantly engaged in Krajina. On one hand, it is investigating crimes committed in Krajina, while on the other hand, our particular job is concerned with the return of Serb refugees who fled in the course of Operation Storm. We are receiving inquiries from their families and collecting documentation that proves that the people who left Croatia are citizens of the Republic of Croatia. Subsequently, we demand approval directly from the Office for Refugees for their return," Ivan Zvonimir Cicak told NASA BORBA.

[Cicak] Refugees may initiate political debates on Croatia here, among the Croatian citizens, if they accept the Croatian state. If not, then they can stay wherever they want. And if they want to live in Croatia, they must recognize the reality of that state and its constitution. Of course, my stance is that we should talk about everything and that all political options are open. However, the presupposition is that this can be done by people who are citizens of Croatia.

[Simonovic] Do you think that individual recognition of a state is decisive for the individual position of the citizen in that state?

[Cicak] No, I do not. The worst thing is that, even if they do not accept the Croatian state, they remain Croatian citizens. That is their constitutional position.

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Because, according to our constitution, citizenship of the Republic of Croatia is irrevocable. Only its bearer can renounce it. However, I believe it is very important, from the constitutional and legal point of view, that the persons who committed war crimes in Croatia—even if they renounce their citizenship—still remain Croatian citizens, are subject to Croatian laws, and ought to be extradited, sooner or later, so they can answer for war crimes before the Croatian courts of law. This ought to be done regardless of which side they belonged to when they committed those crimes, and they ought to serve their sentences in Croatia. Of course, I certainly disagree with bringing up charges against 2,000 Serbs for war crimes in Croatia, without bringing up any charges against Croats.

[Simonovic] Well, as far as I can remember, there have been some....

[Cicak] In Croatia, not a single Croat has been charged with war crimes! The legal qualification [kvalifikacija] of the deed is somewhat different, though. This means, if you answer for a war crime, then there is no amnesty or statute of limitations because war crimes and crimes against humanity never become obsolete. For that reason, the Serbs are given such legal classificatons. At the same time, the cases of Croats who committed war crimes are given the legal classifications of murder, murder with theft as a motive, and suchlike.

System of Connected Vessels [spojene posude]

[Cicak continues] In my opinion, the principle of connected political vessels applies to the circumstances in former Yugoslavia. The political temperature and political pressure in one vessel equals the temperature, that is, the pressure in the other. The politicians in power have understood this principle quite well, and they are cooperating with each other. However, when we try to cooperate, they accuse us of attempts to create a new Yugoslavia or revive the old Yugoslavia, treason etc. I think that we shall still have to develop cooperation in the field of the media and media freedom and educate people, first our activists and then other social groups, on human rights.

It is chiefly the state that is engaged in the problem of refugees from Serbia and that is using those refugees as its future colonizers. The same thing is happening with the refugees from Bosnia. Their role is, actually, to colonize places that the Serbs left. I am afraid that, in fact, all those structures are working together so as to cement the current state of affairs as much as possible, trying to prevent the return of any group of refugees to their homes.

[Simonovic] How good are their chances of succeeding in that?

[Cicak] That does not depend solely on us but also on world politics. Only stronger international pressure can make it possible for refugees to return. The question is, however, what the real intention of the international community is. That is, if the world factors do not recognize that their attitude is actually helping the creation of ethnically pure states that will always be undemocratic, then they are living in a big illusion.

Greater World Pressure

[Cicak continues] In Croatia and Serbia very similar things are happening, involving, of course, different models that primarily depend on historic conditions, the degree and way of cultural development, and some different approaches. I think that basically the essence of our problems remains the same. It is a sheer power struggle. Nevertheless, the situation in Croatia is beginning to calm down in a way. People are becoming aware of the problem and are getting more and more engaged in real problems. Of course, owing to this, the pressure is diminishing as well. How long the process of sobering up will last is hard to foresee. On the other hand, we have Serbia, which has been struggling with economic hardships for five years, and that has still not brought it to its senses. Therefore, why would the situation be any different in Croatia? The cessation of war will revive debates, but to what extent this will contribute to the political maturing is hard to foresee.

[Box, p 9]

[Cicak] The fact that Serbia is now turning increasingly toward China and is adopting a new concept of Russia, which is coming to light now, will actually only make Serbia's position more difficult. It will prevent its integration into European systems. All the strategies that Milosevic is pursuing when dealing with Europe will collapse, and he will eventually remain bare. Precisely because the European and world community expects this to happen in the long run, I think it is tolerating so many things done by Croatia. It needs Croatia here as a strategic ally. In this sense, one is not picky about the ally's qualities. The important thing is to have one.

[Box, p 9]

[Cicak] Bombings, murders, problems, etc. are still going on in Krajina. The situation is bad. I think that the situation in Krajina is not calming down. Now, even the houses that were not initially looted and then burnt down are being blown up with dynamite. There are still many unburied corpses lying in fields.... We inform the

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authorities about this almost on a daily basis and collect such data.

Croatia: Krajina, Tribunal Officials Discuss Crimes

LD2004171396 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 20 Apr (Tanjug)—Representatives of the Republic of Serb Krajina's bodies and organizations had talks with The Hague tribunal officials in Banja Luka today and discussed crimes committed against Serbs in Gospic, Maslenica bridge, Miljevica plateau, Medak pocket, Mali Alan, and other places in the Republic of Serb Krajina. [passage omitted]

Savo Strbac of the Veritas center for documents and information told TANJUG after the talks:

"The Hague tribunal will not be able to justify itself any more by saying that it does not have access to witnesses from the Serb side. We have also received assurances that all investigations that we have initiated will be speeded up.

"On 9 March 1995 Veritas submitted to The Hague tribunal 13 files on crimes committed on the Republic of Serb Krajina territory, and last May a file on crimes committed in west Slavonia after Operation Flash. However, no charges have been brought yet on the basis of these documents," Strbac recalled. [passage omitted]

The Hague tribunal official talked in Banja Luka today with nine witnesses of the genocide against Serbs in the Republic of Serb Krajina. They agreed on cooperation and detailed testimonies.

They will testify about Lora prison in Split and crimes committed after Operation Flash in west Slavonia and Operation Storm in Banija.

The witnesses and The Hague tribunal official agreed on the time frame of future cooperation.

Croatia: National Council of Serb Organizations Constituted

LD1904200496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1812 GMT 19 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb 19 (TANJUG)—The National Council of the Federation of Serb Organizations was constituted in Zagreb on Friday with the view to unifying all available Serb potentials in Croatia and monitoring the exercise of the Serbs' constitutional and legal rights.

The Federation of Serb Organizations was founded late March by the Serb cultural society Prosvjeta, the Serb Democratic Forum (SDF), the Union of the Serbs of Rijeka (a northern Adriatic city), and the Union of the Serbs of Western Slavonia.

The organization would particularly care for the 'establishment of a new status of the Serbs in public, cultural and social life in Croatia,' it was said at the founding meeting.

At the constituent session of the National Council, as an inner body of the Federation of Serb Organizations, the council was said to work also on the full normalization of relations between the Serb people and other peoples, especially the Croatian people, on the reconciliation, tolerance and respect of religious, national and all other differences.

The president of the Federation of Serb Organizations is Dr. Milorad Pupovac who is also president of the Serb Independent Party (SSS) and deputy in the Croatian parliament, while Dr. Slobodan Uzelac is president of the National Council.

The 1991 census showed 580,700 Serbs (12.2 per cent of the total population) living in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

After Croatia seceded forcibly from the former Yugoslavia in 1991, the total number of Serbs in Croatia is estimated at no more than 150,000.

Croatia: Movement for Srem-Baranja Region Formed in Vukovar

AU2004162196 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Apr 96

[Report by Bogdan Rkman from Vukovar]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The Movement for the Srem-Baranja Region was founded in Vukovar today. It is an apolitical nongoverment organization. Bogdan Rkman has the details:

[Rkman] The association's main objectives are creating conditions for the return and survival of the population in the region, putting an end to further migrations, and accommodating refugees from the western part of Krajina. In realizing these goals, the association stresses truth rather than false promises and unrealistic expectations.

The Movement for the Srem-Baranja Region supports and urges negotiations and an active role in determining one's own fate through cooperation with international factors and institutions. [passage omitted]

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Croatia: Hadzic Appointed President of Srem-Baranja Region

LD1904181496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 19 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Erdut, April 19 (TANJUG)—Former Serb Krajina President Goran Hadzic was appointed president of the Srem-Baranja region, the only unoccupied part of Serb Krajina, which was placed under U.N. transitional administration in January.

The decision was made by the Srem-Baranja region's council on Friday.

The introduction of the office of the region's president and Hadzic's appointment should be endorsed by the Srem-Baranja assembly, which will be formed in Vukovar on April 23.

The assembly will rally all Srem-Baranja deputies in the Serb Krajina assembly and a number of deputies in the assemblies of the five Srem-Baranja municipalities—Vukovar, Mirkovci, Dalj, Tenja and Beli Manastir.

Right after the election, Hadzic said that he fully supported the November 1995 Serb-Croatian agreement on a peaceful settlement for the Srem-Baranja region and that he had received assurances from U.N. Administrator Jacques Klein that the world organization and the United States wanted Serbs to remain in the Srem-Baranja region.

Croatia: Serb Party Leader Urges Adoption of Amnesty Law

LD1904201896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1825 GMT 19 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, April 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Serb National Party in Zagreb and Croatian M.P. Milan Djukic on Friday [19 April] called on Croatian authorities to adopt a law on amnesty.

In a letter to Croatian Prime Minister Zlatko Matesa, Djukin said that such a law should be the basic guarantee for the remain of Serb population in their ancestral lands.

Serbs in Croatia set up the Republic of Serb Krajina in 1991 after Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation. The Croatian Army seized most of Serb Krajina in its aggressions of May and August 1995, expelling about 250,000 Krajina Serbs to the (Bosnian Serb) Republika Srpska and Yugoslavia.

The amnesty law is the main precondition for the return of the Serb population because the majority of Serbs in Croatia who are fit for military service would be prosecuted without it, the letter said.

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FYROM: Four SFRY Successors Coordinate Stance

AU1904161196 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The third meeting of the delegations of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Slovenia devoted to the succession of the former Yugoslavia [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—SFRY] ended in Skopje today. The meeting primarily concentrated on the coordination of views prior to the meeting with the EU coordinator for the succession issue that will take place in Brussels next week. Vanja Vardjan reports from Skopje:

[Begin recording] [Vardjan] Today's meeting in Skopje has shown that Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Slovenia will continue to display a unified stance in the talks on the succession of the former Yugoslavia. The head of the Slovene delegation, Dr. Miran Mejak, confirmed this to us after the meeting:

[Mejak] We concluded that all four countries are absolutely unanimous regarding the succession issue and also that the position of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the succession has remained absolutely unchanged. We had known this before, however, this was reconfirmed today. We are thus preparing for the meeting next week at which we are supposed to put forward numerous initiatives that will accelerate the solution. We will probably seek a solution in the gradual resolution of primarily the division of assets that could be divided.

We also expressed the hope that Belgrade will understand the joint interest of undertaking the division as soon as possible and that they will give up their, I would say, tedious insistance on some ideological issues that merely hinder the succession, to their detriment as well as to the detriment of us all.

[Vardjan] The representatives of all four countries adopted the final plan for the regulation of the succession issue in the realm of real estate and archives, and also regarding pensions and citizenship. That is why they will propose to EU coordinator for succession Sir Watson [name as heard] that the resolution of debts should be given priority over real estate in Brussels next week. The Macedonian delegation at the meeting also confirmed that it remains faithful to its earlier position on the succession, namely, that all the countries that emerged after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia are its equal successors. [end recording]

FYROM: Malaysian Prime Minister Discusses Trade

BK2204110196 Kuala Lumpur THE STAR in English 22 Apr 96

[Report by Wong Chun Wai—received via Internet]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje (Macedonia)—The Balkans can act as a gateway for Malaysia to export its goods to Eastern European countries, Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir Mohamed said.

He said his visit to Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] was not merely to gain access to Balkan nations but also to Eastern Europe.

"The three countries can act as a conduit for our goods to be marketed in most Eastern European countries and to identify items we can import," he said.

He was speaking at a Joint press conference with his Macedonian counterpart Branko Crvenkovski at the end of his two-day visit here.

Dr. Mahathir said Malaysia's trade to Eastern Europe was still small.

For a long time, he said, Malaysia's trade was confined only to certain European countries and Japan.

"We now want to expand our trade, we have established many relations with countries in Central Asia, Latin America and other parts of Asia. We now like to come to the Balkans," he added.

On his visit to Macedonia, Dr. Mahathir said he wanted to explore trade opportunities with the country as it was his first visit here.

"Although Macedonia is quite small, this is not an indication of how big its potential is. We wish to explore how best we can participate in its economy," he said.

Dr. Mahathir cited the possibility of Malaysian businessmen taking part in the privatisation and development of the economy of Macedonia.

Expressing satisfaction with his discussion with Crvenkovski, Dr. Mahathir said they had identified many areas of co-operation and looked into the possibility of signing several agreements to facilitate trade.

Among the pacts expected to be signed in future included direct air links, double taxation and bilateral payment arrangement.

Dr. Mahathir also urged Malaysian businessmen to look into the possibility of setting up small and medium-size industries here as Macedonia had many skilled workers.

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He said with peace now restored in the Balkans, the potential of having trade with Macedonia was much better than before, adding that there would now be more exchanges of information and visit.

Crvenkovski said he appreciated Malaysia's stand for being the first Asian country to recognise Macedonia following its break from Yugoslavia in 1991.

Macedonia, he said, was not just a market with two million people, but could be used to market Malaysian goods throughout the region.

Later, Dr. Mahathir met Macedonia President Kiro Gligorov before departing for a two-day visit to Malta.

FYROM: Handziski, NATO Delegation Focus on PFP

AU1904091096 Skopje MIC in English 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yesterday's meeting between the Minister of Defense Blagoj Handziski and the high-ranking delegation of NATO's Coordination Cell in Belgium, focused on the operationalization of the activities that Macedonia is obliged to carry out, on the basis of the individual program for membership in "Partnership for Peace," namely, the departure of Macedonian military attaches for Brussels and Mons, and Macedonia's membership in the Committee for Planning and Review, as a higher level of association of Macedonia with NATO, through "Partnership for Peace." Apart from that, the requirements that Macedonia fulfilled for membership in the Committee for Planning and Review have been assessed positively, the Ministry of Defense announced.

Following the meetings with the highest Macedonian military leaders, the representatives left for Tirana for a meeting with the Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali.

FYROM: Defense Minister Receives British Attache

AU2104202396 Skopje MIC in English 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Repubic of Macedonia—FYROM] Defence Minister Blagoj Handziski had a working meeting yesterday with the ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain in Skopje Tony Milson. The new military attache of Great Britain to Macedonia, Michael Door, was presented at the meeting. Minister Handziski and Ambassador Milson discussed the to-date bilateral cooperation in the field of defence, which was assessed as very successful, as well as the preparation of a program for cooperation for this year.

During the discussion, particular satisfaction was expressed with the agreed working visit of the Defence Minister of the United Kingdom Michael Portillo, towards the end of July, this year, as a possibility of opening new forms of defence cooperation between the two countries.

FYROM: Tetovo University Fundraisers Face Charges

AU1704201996 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 17 Apr 96 p 4

[Article by Sh. A.: "Three Albanian Activists in Court—Skopje's Anachronistic Attitudes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Court proceedings have begun against three Albanian activists in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] who are accused of collecting money illegally. The case involves the collection of funds for the University of Tetovo, which the Macedonian Government calls illegal.

The three accused are entirely within the law, because they have receipts for the collection of the money issued by their central commission formed by the commune, the stubs of the receipt books stamped with the seal of the council of the village in which the University of Tetovo is situated, and so forth. They claim that they have merely carried out their duty.

Moreover, the problem over which the three Albanian activists are accused is not within the competence of the police, and this exposes once again the real intention of the Macedonian authorities to destroy the organizational structure that enables the University of Tetovo to operate. Moreover, their trial in court is a way of scaring the Albanian population.

Another paradox is that the judge has deemed illegal the seal of the village council that is on all the receipts for contributions given. According to the logic of the Macedonian judge, because the University of Tetovo is illegal, the collection of aid and finance for the university is also illegal. Under Macedonian law, the accused may be fined 5,000 denars or sentenced to 15 days in prison.

This is not the first time that the Albanians in Macedonia have fallen victim to such repressive measures that sound absurd in the days in which we now live. It suffices to recall the excessive zeal of the Macedonian authorities in obstructing Albanian-language books and newspapers. Such attitudes on the part of the Skopje authorities are in opposition not only to the attitudes of our government, which has expressed exaggerated support for Macedonia, but also the declarations of Macedonian leaders themselves about relations with Albania, which must doubtlessly depend on the attitude

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of the Skopje authorities to the Albanians on that side of the border.

FYROM: Multigroup's Skopje Representative Found Hanged

AU1904084796 Skopje MIC in English 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Skopje representative of the Bulgarian corporation Multigroup Ivan Janchev was buried in Sofia on April 12.

Janchev was found hanged in the offices of the holding company in the international management center in Bistrica, near Sofia. Due to unknown reasons, the news of his death was announced with a couple of days delay. The Bulgarian media report that the investigation into Janchev's death points to suicide, however, other alternatives as to the reason for his death are not excluded.

The head of the Skopje branch of Multigroup left a suicide note addressed to the president of the corporation Ilia Pavlov, however, its contents remain a secret for the moment. The vice-president of Multigroup Ivan Kolev refused to comment the tragic incident, emphasizing that sensations should not be created from a human tragedy. The firm Multigroup became known to the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] public by some claims in the press, linking it with the assassination attempt on President Kiro Gligorov.

FYROM: Court Declines To Rule on Cabinet Shuffle

AU1904085996 Skopje MIC in English 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Constitutional Court is not competent to decide on the constitutionality and legality of the Decision for election of Government, which was adopted at the parliamentary session on February 23, this year, the court said at its regular session yesterday. The procedure that preceded the adoption of the Decision was not foreseen in the Constitution, and Article 94, paragraph 4 of the Constitution was implemented incorrectly, the initiative of the group of citizens submitted for evaluation to the Constitutional Court says.

FYROM: Government Consides Education Laws, Credits

AU1904091796 Skopje MIC in English 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At yesterday's session, the government determined the draft laws for making amendments to the laws on elementary and secondary education. The changes will include the manner in which files are kept, and that the form and contents of the academic records be determined by regulations brought by the Ministry of Education and Physical Culture.

The government approved the draft agreements which the Macedonian delegation coordinated with the World Bank in Washington, for using the credit from the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) for the Project for development of the private sector, and the IDA Project for support of the private agriculture. The report on the work of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] compensation fund for the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] for last year was also reviewed and adopted at the session. The money from this compensation fund—ECU 25 million approved as humanitarian aid, has been used for the supply of oil derivatives, basic raw materials, food products, equipment and spare part.

The government adopted the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Kingdom of Sweden for the avoidance of double taxation in comparison with the income tax and tax on capital.

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Poland: Press Reaction to Israeli Bombings in Lebanon

WS1904123496

[FBIS Report] On 19 April, two major Warsaw vernacular dailies carried front-page commentaries on the Israeli bombing of a UN base in Lebanon.

GAZETA WYBORCZA, a center-left paper, carried a 100-word untitled report by Pawel Lawinski. "None of the Israeli leaders," writes the author, "warned the UN forces: 'The camp in which you are sheltering refugees is going to be a new target at any moment.' Perhaps the bombers made a mistake. The Israeli Government, however, has not stopped the attacks." "From now on, no one will believe new, 'unfortunate mistakes,'" concludes the commentary.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY, a center-right daily, carried a 250-word commentary by Andrzej Kaniewski entitled "Rotten Grapes of Wrath." Recapitulating recent attacks by Muslim fundamentalists, the author writes: "Israel came under the sheltering umbrella of compassion. Everyone knew that its innocent citizens were being killed, yet they forgot that Israel retaliated by resorting to terror." "In recent days," the commentary continues, "the 'Grapes of Wrath' operation has shown how far Israel is prepared to go. Is it perhaps not too far?" Kaniewski concludes: "The developments in Lebanon defy the claim that political problems can be solved by missiles, mortars, and bullets. Lebanon might make real agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors impossible for years to come. Peace accords always become insignificant whenever cannons begin to speak."

Poland: OPZZ Voices Fears to Kwasniewski About EU, NATO

WS1904142396 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Apr 96 p 3

[Article by Agata Nowakowska and Natalia Skipietrow: "The OPZZ Fears the EU and NATO; They Will Buy Wroclaw, Poznan, Gdansk"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Union members from the All-Poland Trade Union Agreement [OPZZ] yesterday warned Aleksander Kwasniewski about the EU and NATO. Teachers complained about poverty, workers asked for more socialism. "You are talking to the right guy," replied the president.

He was invited to a meeting of the OPZZ Council. The union members showered him with questions so that, as OPZZ Chairwoman Ewa Spychalska said in an opening speech, he could learn "what problems people down below are dealing with."

Stefan Macner of the Cooperative for the Disabled spoke on behalf of "union members apprehensive of the EU and NATO": "We will make our way to the European table, but as waiters and servants. Politicians will be regarded as Europeans, but the simple folk will not benefit in any way." He warned against handing over the tobacco industry to foreigners.

Krzysztof Gwara from Wroclaw said that EU membership will be the end of Polish agriculture. He expressed his concern over the fact that the president signed a law allowing foreigners to purchase real estate in Poland ("They will buy Wroclaw, Poznan, and Gdansk").

Kwasniewski replied: "I am a staunch supporter of Poland's membership in the EU. It is my top priority." He argued that Poland will benefit: First, we will get billions of dollars to catch up with the EU states, then Polish products will make their way to the Western markets. Poland will also have to ensure employees with the same type of social security they enjoy in the West. "As you know, it is a very-well-developed system," coaxed the president.

He also is convinced that only NATO can give Poland real security guarantees: "We cannot be a buffer zone between Russia, which is integrating with other states, and an integrated Europe."

Referring to the real estate law, the president said: "They can buy our real estate, but we can also buy, for example, apartments abroad. Besides, the more buyers you have, the higher the price you can ask."

We Want Care

The trade union members complained about the president's unrealistic preelection promises: "You said education would be free, yet parents continue to pay huge prices for sending their children to school. What about housing for the young generation?" asked Andrzej Szczepanski. He told a joke: "Why did we have such a long winter? Because the president had promised young people they would get apartments in the spring."

The trade unionists also complained that "money in the public sector is not distributed evenly" and that the government intends to reduce the period of paying unemployment benefits to six months in some regions. Democratic Left Alliance Deputy Zdzislaw Tuszynski demanded "more justice and socialism for industry" and grieved over the unprofitability of exports. Grzegorz Stanczyk from the Lucchini steel plant asked the president to "tour companies because people need help and care."

"You cannot be a president of all Poles. We are your electorate," said one of the union members.

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You Chose the Right Man

"I have to thank you and congratulate you on choosing the right man for president out of a large number of candidates," said Kwasniewski. He agreed that the slogan "A president for all Poles" was propaganda: "Today 'a Poland for all' means not the support of 90 percent for the president in opinion polls or in a campaign for a second term, but nationwide agreement on major issues."

If economic growth continues, the standard of living of the citizens will improve, but "this will not happen suddenly, over 100 or 200 days of the president's term in office." Kwasniewski reiterated that the "starting point of reforms" in 1989 was difficult: the economy and the social security system were in crisis, inflation was soaring, unemployment grew at a dizzying pace. Yet "the proper guidelines were adopted, consistently followed since 1990. It is very important not to change that." [passage omitted]

Poland: MON 'Scrimping' on PFP To Salvage Bosnia Battalion

WS2204065396 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Apr 96 p 3

[Article by Luiza Zalewska: "Bosnia Is Too Expensive; MON Is Scrimping on Money for the Polish Battalion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Fewer men will be enlisted in the Armed Forces this year, and bonuses for professional soldiers might be cut. Such are the austerity measures being taken by the Ministry of National Defense [MON] to salvage the battalion sent to Bosnia in January. The Partnership for Peace project, however, will suffer most.*

MON has been complaining from the very beginning that it does not have enough money to support the battalion.

When it made the decision to send Polish troops to Bosnia within the NATO mission last December, the government claimed it could spend at most 30 million new zlotys [Z] on the operation. As early as February, Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka was alarmed over the fact that there were not enough funds. The ministry has carried out final calculations that state that the annual cost of stationing 600 "red berets" in the vicinity of Tuzla will be two times higher than anticipated—Z72 million.

The preliminary cost calculated by the government soared unexpectedly partly because of higher prices asked by owners of Bosnian land on which our troops are stationed. The Dayton peace agreement (on the basis of which NATO launched the mission) provided that troops would be stationed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia free of charge. Meanwhile, local owners of private land lots and fields keep turning up, demanding rent.

Special UN containers in which the soldiers could live had to be purchased. Some men (especially where there were no adequate dwellings) had to sleep in tents furnished with gas heaters.

Under the circumstances, Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski had to decide where savings could be made so as to prevent a situation in which resources would immediately dry up, we learned from unofficial sources at the MON Military Foreign Affairs Department. A confidential decision made several days ago indicates that the ministry is capable of scraping Z46 million, at most, cutting expenses on previously approved purposes.

Only draftees will welcome these savings gladly. The austerity project provides for cutting the number of recruits by almost 6,000. By not paying them their monthly wages, dressing them in uniforms, and feeding them throughout the duration of their service, MON will save Z6 million.

The ministry is planning to save even more—Z10 million—on professional soldiers by refusing to pay out money for vacant positions [as published]. Despite previous plans, just as much money will not reach the military districts for purchases and overhauls of equipment. The largest savings, however, will be made on the Partnership for Peace project. MON will have to cut the number of exercises and seminars designed to bring our Armed Forces closer to NATO.

As we learned from [MON Spokesman] Colonel Zdzislaw Czekierda at a meeting with the generals sitting on the Board of Armed Forces Commanders held on 18 April, the defense minister expressed hope that the Bosnia mission will end this year as planned.

Poland: Kwasniewski Wants 5-Year Plan on Defense Spending

LD1904175396 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1600 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bydgoszcz, 19 Apr—The creation of a five-year financial plan for the Army and the choice of a strategic partner in equipment supplies are, in the opinion of President Aleksander Kwasniewski, the most important issues for the Army. Kwasniewski, who was in Bydgoszcz today, met the Pomeranian Military District command and personnel.

"I am an opponent of any kind of nervous actions on issues important for the Army," the president said. "I guarantee understanding and readiness for dialogue

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with everyone who is not indifferent to Army matters." He recognized the most important issue to be the drawing up and incorporation into the state budget of a five-year national defense expenditure plan, a guaranteed equipment supply system and, in the political perspective, Poland's entry to NATO.

Referring to the material situation of career personnel and the drain of highly qualified officers, Kwasniewski declared that he will strive to create a favorable climate around Army matters. National Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski and Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of General Staff of the Polish Army, took part in the meeting.

Poland: MON Deal Ends Iryda Plane Dispute

WS1904123396 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 19 Apr 96 p 1

[Article by Wojciech Luczak: "Life Saver or the Axe for Iryda?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An agreement between the Mielec Aviation Plant and the Ministry of National Defense [MON], signed in the presence of representatives of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, has formally ended the controversy over Iryda planes. According to experts, however, it might ruin the manufacturer and kill the Iryda development project.

Mielec has entered an obligation to supply six new Iryda planes equipped with a modern navigation and aerial sight system, manufactured by the French-based Sextant Company, as well as new engines and a remodeled wing by the end of 1997. Within the same period, a further 11 modernized Iryda aircraft are to be supplied to the military pilot school in Deblin (flights on Irydas were suspended after a recent tragic crash). MON is to pay 12 million new zlotys [Z] (120 billion old) for each new Iryda. The ministry will also spend Z42 million on the modernization of the 11 older models. The Ministry of Industry and Trade is to contribute over Z8 million. The total costs of 17 Iryda planes fulfilling military requirements will be more than Z122 million.

Poland: Presidential Aide Lacks Confidence in Wilecki

LD2004203796 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Danuta Waniek, head of the Presidential Chancellery, said that Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff, did not arouse her confidence. In an interview for Pomorze and Kujawy Polish Radio station, Waniek said that General Wilecki was too closely linked to previous President Lech Walesa.

[Begin recording] [Waniek] I would personally prefer the head of the General Staff to be a person less closely connected with Lech Walesa than Gen. Tadeusz Wilecki was in the past. He demonstrated that in an ostentatious and excessive manner.

[Unidentified correspondent] However, Gen. Wilecki said: The king is dead. Long live the king! Is this not enough to put trust in Gen. Wilecki?

[Waniek] It seems to me that it is certainly not enough. I have expressed this view many times. [end recording]

Poland: Cimoszewicz, Stankevicius To Set Up Niemen Euroregion

LD1904210696 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz and Mindaugas Stankevicius, the prime ministers of Poland and Lithuania, have announced that a Niemen Euroregion, an economic organization of the states lying in the Niemen River basin, will soon be set up. They invited Belarus and Russia to cooperate. The prime ministers of Poland and Lithuania had talks lasting several hours in Augustow today.

[Correspondent Marek Kupis] In the opinion of both prime ministers, the creation of a Niemen Euroregion is essential for the revitalization of transborder economic cooperation in this part of Europe. Poland and Lithuania want Belarus and the Russian region of Kaliningrad to join the new Euroregion as well.

[Begin Cimoszewicz recording] But, if our partners are not yet ready to take part in this initiative, we are determined to set up this Euroregion bilaterally, leaving the question of further membership of this region open. [end recording]

[Stankevicius, in Lithuanian fading to correspondent's report] Our relations must become closer so that our border does not divide but joins us, the Lithuanian prime minister said. Both heads of government agreed that, for a real increase in commercial turnover to be achieved, not only must the law in both countries be brought into line with European standards, but also the transit road network must be developed. Today, in fact, the only road to Augustow from central Poland was almost impossible to drive on for nearly 40 kilometers. [video shows vehicles on very bad road]

Prime Minister Cimoszewicz assured the Lithuanian head of government of Poland's support for Lithuania in its efforts to join NATO and the EU. [passage omitted]

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Poland: Daily Previews Prime Minister's German Visit

WS2204131496 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Apr 96 p 11

[Article by Danuta Zagrodzka in Bonn: "Checking Socks; Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz Arrives in Bonn on Tuesday"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Polish prime minister's visit to Germany is one of reconnaissance; there are no specific objectives to achieve on the agenda. "Sounding each other out," an officer from President Herzog's Office told me.*

The Polish prime minister is arriving at the invitation of Chancellor Kohl, but the initiative was Poland's. During his visit to Warsaw last year, the chancellor suggested to then Prime Minister Oleksy that annual meetings be held between the prime ministers of both states, with the participation of the foreign, interior, and defense ministers to discuss major current issues pertaining to bilateral relations and international politics.

German Caution

It seems that the Polish side wanted to "digest" the invitation just now. The Germans, for their part, want to see the new man heading the Polish Government. However, as GAZETA WYBORCZA was assured, this visit neither substitutes nor precludes the annual summit. One may thus assume that the Polish prime minister will return to Germany before year's end.

Cimoszewicz is not widely known in Germany. He is not disliked in political circles. He is remembered primarily for having defended the German minority as justice minister. The fact that he was at Columbia University two years ago also wins him sympathy. He is said to be a bit of a maverick.

Red Socks

"We know he can be charming; now we will see whether he can jump out of his red socks," I heard in political circles.

Red socks, however, are not an obstacle to developing proper political relations. The most important thing is not to harbor any illusions. "Personal sympathies are one thing, politics another. It is not important what party one represents. The policies he carries out are what counts. Every state follows that principle. If Zyuganov wins in Russia, we will talk and cooperate with him as well," said a high-ranking official. He added that Kwasniewski was elected by half of the Poles, and that is what matters. "It is true it would have been different if he had visited Moscow first," he said. "That would have been a very bad sign for us."

Prime Minister Cimoszewicz will be received by Chancellor Kohl and President Herzog; he will meet with Chairwoman of the Bundestag Rita Suessmuth, businessmen, and the German Polonia. The main topic of discussion with the chancellor, apart from the usual issue of our membership in the EU and NATO, will most probably be the talks he and President Kwasniewski held in Moscow.

As is widely known, Polish-German relations are normal, and, fortunately, there are no controversial issues. Only practical matters remain to be sorted out. The bottlenecks at the border are still irritating. The German press often reports on crime in the border regions, which the Polish side, according to Germans, is not doing enough about.

As for our economic achievements, amazingly enough considering the traditional German perception of "polnische Wirtschaft," we are presented to the Germans as a model. The success of the Szczecin Shipyard or the Elblag-based ZAMECH was widely reported here (receiving the same coverage as the catastrophic results of the Gdansk Shipyard, the birthplace of Solidarity).

More European Initiatives

On the issue of our quick entry into the EU and NATO—and we have a strong supporter in the German Government—there is a general consensus among all political groups. This does not mean we can cease our efforts to persuade Europe that our agriculture will not ruin the EU and that the European economy may benefit from our membership. This is not yet clear to everyone.

As former Foreign Minister Genscher recently pointed out, perhaps Poland should show more initiative on European issues and mediate in bringing its eastern neighbors closer to Europe.

Our complicated domestic situation, without doubt closely watched, does not seem to arouse greater interest or fear, at least as long as it does not threaten the stability of the state.

Poland: Daily Reports on Proceedings in Oleksy Case

WS1904122596 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 18 Apr 96 p 3

[Article by Aleksander Frydrychowicz: "The Prosecutor Acted Faster Than the Commission; Will the Minister Declassify the Files?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The investigation into the "Oleksy case" is drawing to a close. As we have found*

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out from unofficial sources, the military prosecutor's decision to either bring charges against Oleksy or to discontinue the proceedings should be announced early next week. At the same time, the commission that is looking into the legality of the actions taken by the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Office of State Protection [UOP] in the "case" of the former prime minister is taking longer than expected.

Z. Pisarek, a deputy of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, told journalists that he "got the impression that the Democratic Left Alliance would like the prosecutor's decision to be announced earlier" than the stance taken by the commission. Since this statement was left unfounded, one might present an opposite thesis: that "someone wants the case to stay in the prosecutor's office for longer than is expected."

Now, what do the facts look like? We know from unofficial sources that the Sejm speaker has received a motion from the prosecutor's office requesting permission to look at the documents collected by the commission. On their basis, the prosecutor would like to deduce whether, aside from the materials that have been submitted by UOP, there exist any other documents or facts important to the investigation. It is a pity that Speaker Jozef Zych failed to inform the public about this when a journalist of the "Sygnaly Dnia" ["Signals of the Day"] radio program asked him (on 17 April) about the "Oleksy case" and about suggestions made by Deputy Pisarek. It is no wonder the prosecutor's office would like to know this before it makes its decision.

There is one snag here, however: The materials collected by the commission are classified and of special importance. The prosecutor is not authorized to look at them. The only person who can declassify them for the prosecutor's office is the internal affairs minister. We know that Commission Chairwoman Lucyna Pietrzyk spent several hours on Wednesday [17 April] in UOP headquarters, where a meeting, participated in by the minister, was held. As we found out unofficially, the participants tried to find a way to declassify some of the materials and to enable Prosecutor Gorzkiewicz to familiarize himself with them as early as this week.

Because the statement by Deputy Pisarek may suggest that the decisions made by the "special commission" might in some way affect the prosecutor's final decision, several issues need to be cleared up. First, the commission does not supervise the investigation conducted by the prosecutor. Second, the prosecutor and deputies are dealing with completely different issues: The prosecutor is looking into the files he received from the internal affairs minister and UOP in order to determine whether, on their basis, he can bring a charge against Jozef Oleksy, whereas the commission has been set up to establish whether the security services violated the law by collecting materials against the prime minister and by acting on [former Internal Affairs Minister] Milczanowski's motion to prosecute Oleksy.

Thus, the prosecutor's decision, regardless of what it states, cannot affect the result of the commission's work. Also, the decisions the commission reaches regarding the legality or illegality of the UOP actions do not constitute proof of Oleksy's guilt or innocence. Presenting the argument that someone may want the prosecutor or the deputies to complete their work earlier or later is yet another example of mixing politics and the law.

Poland: Minister Bars Access To Oleksy Affair Documents

LD1904220096 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1900 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Interior Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski has not agreed to hand over to the Military Prosecutor's Office the minutes of meetings of the Sejm special commission examining the so-called Oleksy affair. This is a very bad decision, Ryszard Bugaj, commission member and Union of Labor leader, commented.

[Correspondent] The Prosecutor's Office of the Warsaw Military District, which has been conducting an investigation since January into Jozef Oleksy's alleged collaboration with the Russian intelligence service, asked the Sejm special commission to make available the minutes of its meetings. Ryszard Bugaj, in a statement for Radio Three, revealed that Interior Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski had opposed this. In the opinion of the Union of Labor leader, it is a very bad thing that the prosecutor will not brief himself on these documents before deciding on the fate of the investigation.

[Begin Bugaj recording] The Prosecutor's Office wanted to look at the minutes, and we wanted to give access, but then we had the interior minister's refusal on the matter. Formally speaking, the refusal is somehow justified. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The minister did not agree to hand over the documents because they are not directly linked to the subject of the investigation being conducted by the Military Prosecutor's Office. Besides this, the majority of the documents are secret, an Interior Ministry spokesman explained.

[Begin recording] [Interior Ministry press spokesman Ryszard Hincza] They are top secret, and this material, much of this material, is not linked at all to the subject

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of the investigation being conducted by the Military Prosecutor's Office. The interior minister put these kinds of arguments to the Prosecutor's Office, and the Prosecutor's Office would seem to have agreed with them because it has not renewed its requests in the matter.

[Correspondent] And, if the Prosecutor's Office decides to institute an inquiry into Former Prime Minister Oleksy, will the minister then change his mind?

[Hincza] The minister thinks the Prosecutor's Office should not bow to any pressure. Your question could suggest a further course of proceedings. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Ryszard Hincza added that making the documents in question available will require a separate decision by the Interior Ministry on giving the Prosecutor's Office access to secrets totally unconnected with the Jozef Oleksy affair.

Poland: TVP Head, Government: Tight Cooperation Necessary

WS1904125096 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Apr 96 p 1

[Report by "JACH": "Miazek With the Government, the Government With Miazek"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We agreed that closer cooperation between the public television board and the government is necessary," newly appointed head of Polish Television [TVP] Ryszard Miazek told us after a session of the Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party coalition yesterday. He spent two and a half hours at the meeting. "I received a report on the current condition of the state and was congratulated on my appointment to head TVP," he added.

The TVP Supervisory Board is soon to meet with the Cabinet to discuss coverage of the government on television. "We want to make contacts with more civilized politicians. We will not do that covertly, as if we were ashamed," said Miazek. In the 16 April edition of GAZETA WYBORCZA, Miazek carped at reporters for impolitely embarrassing politicians by asking difficult questions, and he rejected the investigative role of the media.

Poland: Presidential Minister Supports Quick Powiat Reform

WS1904125896 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by Renata Wrobel: "The Powiat Reform, a Decision To Be Made by This Parliament?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *"The decision whether or not to carry out the powiat [administrative unit larger than the gmina, which is the smallest one] reform will be made by parliament, not the government," Krzysztof Janik (Democratic Left Alliance—SLD), chairman of the Sejm Powiat Commission and under secretary of state in the President's Chancellery, recalled during a seminar held on Tuesday and Wednesday [16 and 17 April] in Mierki, Olsztyn Voivodship. Janik believes that the Sejm may decide to establish powiats during this term, thanks to votes of support from the majority of SLD deputies, as well as from many deputies of the Freedom Union, the Union of Labor, the German Minority, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, some nonaffiliated deputies, and some Polish Peasant Party representatives.*

The international seminar, entitled "Directions and Problems of the Powiat Reform in Poland," was organized by the Office of the Council of Ministers and financed with money from the OMEGA-PHARE [OMEGA-Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] fund.

If the Coalition Does Not Find Enough Strength

"As I see it, the reform is inevitable. The parties that are now in power may not find enough strength to carry it out," Krzysztof Janik admitted. He said he was disappointed by the recent statement by Prime Minister Wlodimierz Cimoszewicz that, due to the differences between the coalition partners, the present government would not carry out the territorial reform." "This does not mean, however, that in the parliament there is no possibility of forming a different political configuration that would make it possible to make the decision during this term," the presidential minister added. He believes that the present Sejm might adopt the fundamental laws and make other crucial decisions to settle this question; then it would pass the introductory law that would set the date when the new solutions would enter into force. "I do hope that, when the test comes up, the deputies of some groups that are declaring support for the reform now will not run away from the battlefield." [passage omitted]

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Poland: Deputy Chairman of SLD Club Interviewed

WS2204105996 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 4 Apr 96 p 4

[Interview with Longin Pastusiak, deputy chairman of the Polish SLD Sejm Club, by Kamil Durczok; place and date not given: "I Do Not Change My Opinions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Durczok] As a leading critic of NATO, you are now part of the delegation that is negotiating Poland's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty. What justifies your complete change of political views?

[Pastusiak] I have never changed them. Out of 600 scientific publications I have written, only two have been devoted to NATO. In them I criticized the so-called massive retaliation doctrine. According to this doctrine, NATO would launch its nuclear arsenal to create a so-called atomic ditch on the Vistula River to stop the Soviet Armed Forces. I do not see anything wrong with this criticism. Show me a political leader who would defend the strategy, which, when applied, would turn Poland into the graveyard of Europe; some 40 million Poles would perish.

[Durczok] In the 1970's and 1980's, in a number of your publications, you explained to your countrymen who is a friend and who is a foe.

[Pastusiak] A lousy politician is one who does not make allowances for changes taking place in his country. A person like this deserves to be called a dogmatist.

[Durczok] Do you think that, if there are some people of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] provenance on the Polish delegation it will help the decision about Poland's entry into NATO?

[Pastusiak] This fact does not have any influence whatsoever on the decision. NATO Secretary General Javier Solana in 1985 headed a committee protesting Spain's accession to NATO.

[Durczok] As deputy chairman of the Sejm Committee for Foreign Affairs, what do you think of Senate Speaker Adam Struzik's 16-day trip to such strategic countries as Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand?

[Pastusiak] I do not know Mr. Struzik's itinerary. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that both the Sejm and the Senate are closely watched by society through NIK [Supreme Board of Control].

[Durczok] And I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the Senate Speaker is traveling on my taxpayer money.

[Pastusiak] There is a concept of international parliamentary relations. It is absolutely normal to exchange delegations, to visit each other, and to maintain contacts. I can assure you that a lot of good comes from these visits.

[Durczok] Including visits to Laos and Vietnam?

[Pastusiak] You are asking me something you should ask Mr. Struzik. I presume that it was not a tourist trip.

[Durczok] Let us talk about the situation in the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Do you belong to Oleksy, Miller, or Kwasniewski's fraction?

[Pastusiak] I do not belong to any fraction.

[Durczok] An opinion prevails that the SLD is a very cohesive political party. Did the SLD break into factions while "dividing the spoils"?

[Pastusiak] These "factions" are sheer press speculations. In the Sejm, anybody can take the floor, discussions are sometimes long and heated, but all decisions are made by democratic voting. Our opponents would like to see the SLD broken. Wishful thinking [preceding two words in English].

[Durczok] Is not the protest against an influential Warsaw-based group of politicians [Warszawka] in the SLD, expressed by All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ] activists, a signal that the "concrete wall" is cracking?

[Pastusiak] Unanimity prevails only in the cemetery. At a meeting of the SLD leadership with the OPZZ, all contentious issues were settled.

[Durczok] In the meantime, the alliance's support is growing, and it is "going up" in the public opinion polls. If the Oleksy case has not been detrimental to the SLD image, what might be?

[Pastusiak] A slump in the market, failure to meet the obligation to curb inflation, and a slowing of economic growth. These are surely the components that might be decisive for the future of the alliance.

Poland: Friction in Opposition Party UW Reported

96EP0040A Krakow CZAS KRAKOWSKI in Polish 22-28 Feb 96 p 6

[Article by WA: "Is Freedom Union at a Crossroads?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two tendencies toward a change in the present situation of Freedom Union are becoming evident. The first is illustrated by the agreement on a common program with the Conservative Party of Aleksander Hall, the Republicans, and Artur Balazs's Peasant-Christian Union. In a sense that agreement is a return to the sources for both Hall's and Balazs's groups, and even for such a consistently centrist politician as

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Jerzy Eysymontt. The agreement was not signed by the representatives of the STU [expansion unknown] Movement, where it was supported by Andrzej Olechowski and opposed by Czeslaw Bielecki. The reason for these differences is the continuing strong presence of activists of the party's social-liberal wing in Freedom Union.

In their program declaration the politicians announced the coming creation of a broader electoral bloc. For the time being, however, its political consequence is that the right wing of UW (Freedom Union) itself has been strengthened. That wing is formed by activists headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Hanna Suchocka, as well as by the former members of the Liberal-Democratic Congress party. At the same time, the balance between the right and left wings of UW is being defended by Bronislaw Geremek and Leszek Balcerowicz. Still, a weakening of that party's "Left" is becoming obvious to both participants and observers. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the grouping traditionally associated with Jacek Kuron has become marginalized. The political plan is for the party to take a position on the expressly center-left program planks of that grouping. This plan, which could not be translated into reality during the electoral campaign, appears to remain topical. This concerns primarily an agreement with Labor Union, or at least with a faction within that party. The personal alignment among Kuron, Karol Modzelewski, and Ryszard Bugaj has been recreated. This will be presented to Freedom Union as a plan for bolstering the party by means of a uniform and symmetrical broadening of both wings.... This is complicated considering that it is hard!y easy to speak of symmetry if UW will try to absorb radically leftist Labor Union activists. The Conservatives, the Republicans, and the Peasant-Christian Party, on the other hand, do not radicalize the current platform planks of UW, and at most they bolster the moderately conservative nature of that party. As for Labor Union, that is a different matter, since in two such opposing ideas as antiliberalism and anticlericalism predominate. Translating this plan into reality would explicitly move UW to the left.

To many UW activists this may be an attractive idea. The votes cast for Jacek Kuron and Tadeusz Zielinski in recent elections indicate that in theory, UW could thus gain a significant proportion of the electorate (5 to 7 percent). But this logic may also have room for a different calculation. A policy of recruiting part of the present base of support for the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] does not have to mean a sharp conflict with that party of Jozef Oleksy. Affording a political alternative to some of the SLD's sympathizers, especially in a situation in which suspicions about the SLD's leaders have not been resolved, may be an effective means of swinging the electoral vote.

Specifically, the new alignment built around Jacek Kuron may, even if its success in the next parliamentary elections is only moderate, replace the PSL (Polish Peasant Party), which has proven such a difficult partner to the postcommunists, as their new partner. But for this to happen, the new alignment should reach the voters as soon as possible. Many political groupings intend to devote this year to intensified campaigning. A strong attack on the postcommunists is being planned by both Solidarity and the rightist parties.

One great unknown is the reaction of the UW centrists to Jacek Kuron's ideas. His position in the party has been weakened following the electoral loss. It may be that this is why the former ROAD (Citizens' Movement-Democratic Action), a movement which took part in creating Democratic Union in 1990 and in which activists of present-day Labor Party (e.g., Zbigniew Bujak) had been very active, held a ball last Saturday. Another unknown is the reaction of Bronislaw Geremek, who officially is not taking part in the steps taken by the UW's left wing but, as his opponents claim, is doing a great deal in order to persuade the greatest possible number of UW members to support these plans when the crucial moment arrives.

Poland: Deputy PM Kolodko on Taxes, Economy

WS1904134096 Warsaw Radio RMF FM Network in Polish 0605 GMT 18 Apr 96

[Interview with Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister, by radio correspondent Konrad Piasecki, in the prime minister's office in Warsaw; within the framework of the "Guest of the RMF FM Morning Program"—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Piasecki] Good morning, Mr. Kolodko. What happened that you are so casually dressed, not in a suit, but wearing a jogging suit top with the word "Alaska" on it? Are you getting ready for some departure, or are you taking a rest today?

[Kolodko] Oh, no, there are no days off. The point is that, in two hours and 15 minutes, I will take off from Okecie Airport, and then I will reach a hotel tomorrow at this time—Warsaw time. So I will be traveling for approximately 24 hours. Therefore, I decided to wear Nikes, jeans, and a jogging suit top. As for the word "Alaska," in fact I am flying to California and then on to Washington.

[Piasecki] On such occasions, all I can say is that it is a pity that we are not a television company so all our listeners could see it.

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[Kolodko] I will spend one night in San Diego participating in the International Studies Association congress, the second night in Los Angeles in connection with meetings at the University of California, the third night on a plane to Washington, the fourth night in Washington, the fifth on a plane to Warsaw, and the sixth night in my own bed. However, this happens very often. One has to work around the clock.

[Piasecki] On 16 April the government did not agree to your proposal on lowering—in 1997—taxes to the levels of 20 percent, 30 percent, and 40 percent. Do you regard this as a defeat or debacle for you?

[Kolodko] No, on the contrary, I regard it as a success or triumph. The government has not only granted my proposals but also, in the end, influenced by the arguments provided by Prime Minister Cimoszewicz and me, approved the proposal to lower taxes for everybody. Thus, as I said, this is a general lowering of taxes—to 20-percent, 30-percent, and 40-percent levels.

[Piasecki] But not in 1997.

[Kolodko] Well, this time you have distorted only 66.6 percent of my words, though last time you distorted 100 percent of my words. Namely, in 1997 we will lower the rate to 20 percent. I had a somewhat different idea, but the Council of Ministers makes decisions taking into account perhaps political arguments that are of less importance for me, given that I am an economist and I have to defend the interests of all taxpayers equally. Thus, so far the Council of Ministers has divided the step proposed by me, which lowers taxes for everybody, into two stages. The first stage will be implemented in 1997, while the second will be implemented in 1998. However, if someone continues to play around and trifle with you esteemed listeners, saying that lower taxes mean higher taxes, and lower inflation means higher inflation, then I think people will not believe this. In 1997 you will pay lower taxes. However, there is the fact that sometimes one has to travel a certain distance with two steps because the distance is too long, and a big jump could mean breaking one's ribs.

[Piasecki] You speak about political conditions. You also said recently that not lowering taxes in 1997 to the level you proposed may bring political consequences for the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. What does it mean? Do you expect that these political groups will lose the elections?

[Kolodko] No, I do not get involved in politics in general. However, I would be surprised if particularly these forces lost the elections, as they—the coalition—have pursued an effective economic policy for three years within the framework of the Strategy for Poland program and also within the framework of developing, improving, and continuing Package 2000. I think these political forces should experience no difficulty in winning the elections, given that, if one has a good program and knows how to implement it, I think people will be able to appreciate it. However, I am speaking about this in relation to certain statements made some time ago by politicians; and naturally their problem is related to their ability to comply with their obligations. However, I hope the electors will vote for the right people. The most important thing for me is the fact that the Strategy for Poland program once again acquired an approval and support through decisions made by the political groups of these two parties currently governing Poland.

[Piasecki] Mr. Kolodko, at the time when Cimoszewicz's government was created, loud voices were heard about the differences in economic concepts between you and Miroslaw Pietrewicz, another deputy prime minister. Do you not think that these differences are currently coming to light, exactly at the moment when discussions on the economy of 1997 and the following years are being held?

[Kolodko] You have said enigmatically "voices were heard." You see, if I told you "what was heard," I am not sure the microphone would stand it.

[Piasecki] Please tell us.

[Kolodko] What we do is what matters the most. As you see, we consequently are implementing the Strategy for Poland program, which is very highly evaluated. Not accidentally, one of the most prestigious rating agencies [name of agency indistinct], gave Poland the so-called investment rate and raised it two classes higher on the eve of the annual summit of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which recently ended in Sofia. Thus, we are pursuing a policy that enables us to leap even two classes higher, although, on the other hand, this policy is forcing us to lower taxes by taking two steps instead of one. And this is our economic policy, the exact name of which is the Strategy for Poland and Package 2000. There are no disagreements in Prime Minister Cimoszewicz's government due to the fact that there is only one economic policy. A statesman of Prime Minister Cimoszewicz's class supports this economic policy, which splendidly supports his program for public security and Polish prestige on the international arena. In this context, we should also view the talks being held at the moment by Prime Minister Cimoszewicz and NATO Secretary General Javier Solana. And, in the end, we have the political aspect and the ability of making accords above the coalition-oppositional divisions. This policy, which is pursued by the government and personally by him, is firmly established in the economic

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realities that are created by the Strategy for Poland program and Package 2000. The government has approved and is implementing this program.

[Piasecki] But, is there discord between you and Mr. Pietrewich, or not? This is quite a simple question.

[Kolodko] Obviously there is discord. My political platform is known, is implemented, and is successful, given that we are observing a record-breaking economic increase. It is obvious, at least to me and I think to the majority of our listeners, that we have to intensively continue the process of reducing inflation if we want to maintain the high pace of economic growth. Everybody knows that I am in support of lower inflation, lowering transfers from profitable entities to unprofitable entities, and increasing the range of economic liberalization.

[Piasecki] Is Mr. Pietrewicz's opinion different?

[Kolodko] Ask Mr. Pietrewicz about this. It is quite a natural thing that people have different viewpoints and discuss them with each other. If not, the Council of Ministers should be named otherwise since a council offers counsel and should not hold futile discussions. People have different viewpoints and different interests; you wish to pay lower taxes, so do I; Minister [head of the Office of the Council of Ministers] Miller and others would like us to have higher budget spending. It is not ministers who have different viewpoints and interests; it is people, societal groups, that have different interests. Producers would like prices for their commodities to increase much faster; meanwhile, consumers prefer that prices increase at a slower pace. For instance, I am under the constant pressure of the power-engineering lobby, which wants to speed up the pace of the price increases. However, I advocate consumers interests and I do not allow them to do that. Therefore, I hear talk that this time I want to finish off the Polish power-engineering sector, while another time it was culture or science, although I serve them as much as I can.

It is this platform of pragmatic compromises, but pursued on the path of stabilization, economic growth, and liberalization, that has been continued, and I think it is and will be supported by the current governing coalition. If we go back to Package 2000 and to its section on fiscal and taxation issues, then my opinions, which obviously are very important because it seems that I quite effectively implement my political program, will not be taken into account if I am not supported by the parliamentary majority. That is because these things have to be regulated by edicts, and these are parliaments. In our case, it is the Sejm and the Senate that determine the level of taxes and not Minister Kolodko, even if he is granted strong political and substantial support by Prime Minister Cimoszewicz, who is an enlightened man and who can see much further than next year's parliamentary elections. Therefore, there are at least two of us, and naturally every member of the PSL and the SLD is allowed to join this tandem and pursue the kind of policy that will serve Poland and Poles well, not only within the context of the next several months, but also within the next several or dozen years.

And this is the difference between the Strategy for Poland and saying what will happen if...and this is the difference between the Strategy for Poland and the policy pursued between 1989 and 1991, when people where told that there was no alternative. The point is that we have created this alternative by developing the Strategy for Poland program. Package 2000 is the continuation of this program given that the conditions, challenges, and prospects are changing. Also currently, in the spring of 1996, those challenges are very serious...

[Piasecki] Mr. Kolodko, we do not have time to talk about all these challenges.

[Kolodko] Which challenges would you like me to discuss?

[Piasecki] We can only talk about the political [issues]. Do you feel that you are an isolated politician?

[Kolodko] You see, having such strong support on the part of Prime Minister Cimoszewicz and President Kwasniewski, whereas a while ago I was on my own and now there are two or three of us—and if you, who as I see also deal with politics, join us, then maybe it will be much easier for all of us. Although it is not an easy time. You were criticizing me over two years ago when I offered and presented in public the Strategy for Poland program. You maintained that allegedly—some of you sent me even to read books, despite the fact that I have written several books—it is not possible to decrease the inflation rate and the unemployment rate at the same time. However, we proved that this is possible, but at that time, when I was accused of the fact that the Strategy for Poland program allegedly did not include enough information on the [economic] instruments, I said then and I will repeat it today—referring to the Bible, that there is nothing about [economic] instruments in the Bible, there is a sentence that reads that "you will judge people by the fruits of their labor." This policy, which I believe is strongly supported by the SLD and the PSL, is producing more and more tasty fruits, which are being eaten by more and more Poles. And even if someone does not approve this economic policy, common sense and our ability to overcome upheavals (I am speaking about us, Poles) will gain the upper hand.

[Piasecki] Thank you very much, Mr. Kolodko.

[Kolodko] Thank you.

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Romania: Melescanu on Developments Leading to EU, NATO

AU1804165296 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 9 Apr 96 p 3

[Unattributed report: "For the First Time, Romania Has Free Access to Top Technologies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania's admittance to the Wassenaar Arrangement marks for the first time in history the lifting of all restrictions imposed on our country regarding access to supersophisticated technologies. It represents an essential stage for Romania's integration into the North Atlantic alliance, Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu told MEDIAFAX.

"Our admittance to the Wassenaar Arrangement offers a real basis for the interoperation of the Romanian Army with the NATO military forces and presupposes also the possibility of achieving some applications in the civilian field which are extremely useful to the process of technological upgrading of Romanian industry," said Melescanu.

Our status as a member of the Wassenaar Arrangement, of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), the Australia Group (for nonproliferation of chemical and biological weapons), and the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), represents a basis for admittance into NATO. Romania is a member of all four of these organizations.

The Wassenaar Arrangement, with its headquarters in Vienna, was established on 19 December 1995. Romania was not invited to participate in the meeting of signing the founding documents; however, it was accepted as a founding member at the first working meeting held in April 1996.

"Believe me, there is an enormous change in mentality behind this evolution," said Melescanu.

Without Wassenaar, the signing of some contracts, such as the contract with Bell Helicopter for manufacturing Cobra helicopters, would not have been possible, Teodor Melescanu added.

The European Union Establishes Concrete Criteria for Monitoring Romania in View of the Possible Elimination of Entry Visas

The policy in the area of migration, conditions of transit, the fight against organized crime, and the policy of control at the border represent the major criteria on the basis of which the European Union will appraise the situation in Romania, with a view to eliminating the compulsory entry visas, said Teodor Melescanu.

"Currently, the major concern of the European Union is to appraise the risks of illegal emigration from or through Romania," said Melescanu.

The European Commission put out a book of tasks for missions investigating Romania and Bulgaria, with a view toward making a decision regarding the visa regime. The book of tasks stipulates both the analysis of the internal legislation in this field as well as the way in which the respective norms are being applied.

Melescanu assessed that the publishing of this book of tasks represents a response to Romania's demarches to benefit from the same regime as the other associated countries, but also as a way to strengthen bilateral cooperation.

Romania Is Not Geographically Isolated From NATO

From a geographic point of view, Romania is not isolated from NATO. The entire space that divides it from the borders of the alliance is covered by admittance applications, said the Romanian foreign minister.

Alliance sources in Brussels say that NATO probably will not admit new members from Central and East Europe that do not have common borders with other member states, because otherwise it would be a problem to implement the security guarantees offered by the alliance.

The head of Romanian diplomacy said this theory is only one of the possible approaches to the issue. Teodor Melescanu emphasized the fact that neither Greece nor Turkey have land borders with other members of the alliance. In addition to this, Romania assesses that its sea border with Turkey can be taken into consideration. "If the Mediterranean 'worked' for Greece and Turkey then the Black Sea must also 'work' for us," said Teodor Melescanu.

Romania submitted last week in Brussels the mandate of the delegation that will engage in the individual dialogue between NATO and each candidate state. The mandate mentions the issues of interest for Romania within this dialogue.

Domestic Priorities Have Slowed Down the Pace of Harmonizing Romanian Legislation With European Union Standards

The process of adjusting Romanian legislation to the European level has encountered lately a "certain pause" due to the fact that Parliament has concentrated on more pressing issues for this period, such as the 1996 budget and the electoral law, said Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu.

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He stressed the fact that Romania's political option for harmonizing its legislation with the European norms cannot be doubted. Romania has created and put into operation the necessary institutions required by this process: the Interministerial Committee for Harmonizing Legislation and the Legislative Council, with duties in approving the compatibility of national laws with the European laws. In addition to this, on the basis of a government decision, no draft law can be submitted to Parliament without its sponsor proving that the document is in agreement with the European norms, said Teodor Melescanu.

"I do not think it is correct to say that we are lagging behind," said Teodor Melescanu. "However, what I must admit is that not always is the pace of adjusting new laws to European standards sufficiently fast," Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu concluded.

Tom Lantos Supports Romania in Obtaining the Most-Favored-Nation Status on a Permanent Basis and on the Efforts of NATO Integration

U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos said on 8 April that he will support the granting of the most-favored-nation status for Romania on a permanent basis.

He mentioned at the end of the meeting he held with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu that the reason for his decision is the "positive developments that he noticed in Romania."

During the meeting the sides discussed issues that refer to the process of the North Atlantic alliance expansion and Tom Lantos mentioned that he supports Bucharest's efforts to enter NATO.

Likewise, the U.S. congressman offered to "facilitate" the development of Romania's relations with neighboring countries. The spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Ministry Sorin Ducaru mentioned that the U.S. congressman specifically referred to the basic treaties that Romania is currently negotiating with Hungary and Ukraine.

Tom Lantos is well known as one of the most severe critics of Romania within the U.S. Congress. In 1992 he advocated not granting most-favored-nation status to Romania because of the country's insignificant progress toward democratization. Both President Iliescu and the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Adrian Nastase held meetings with the U.S. congressman during their visit to the United States.

Lantos has paid a three-day visit to Romania at the invitation of the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. He toured Europe and also visited Greece, Albania, Poland, and Hungary.

Romania: Foreign Minister, FRY's Multinovic Sign Treaty

AU2204112896 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 22 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A short time ago the foreign ministers of Romania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], Teodor Melescanu and Milan Milutinovic, initialed a basic political, friendship, good-neighbor, and cooperation treaty between Romania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In a statement made on that occasion, the head of Romanian diplomacy said that the document establishes the principles of bilateral relations, the mechanisms for their furthering, as well as the common objectives of the two countries, namely the development of their traditional cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural domains. Furthermore, Teodor Melescanu emphasized that the treaty is based on European principles and is the clear expression of Romania and Yugoslavia's wish to integrate within European cooperation bodies and bring their joint contribution to ensuring security on our continent. In turn, the Yugoslav foreign minister, Milan Milutinovic, said that the initialing of that basic document is very important to further bilateral relations and proves Romania's support and solidarity with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The treaty is valid for the next 20 years and is to be signed by the presidents of Romania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Earlier today Foreign Minister Milutinovic was received by Oliviu Gherman, president of the Romanian Senate, and currently he is holding talks with Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies. At about 1600 the Yugoslav guest is to be received by President Ion Iliescu.

Romania: Government To Confirm New Police Chief

96P20398A Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 22 Mar 96 p 1

[Article by Simona Ionescu: "Yesterday the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Country Decided that General Costica Voicu Would Be the New Chief of Police"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After long discussions among the Ministry of Interior, the Government and the Presidency, the new chief of the IGP [General Inspectorate of the Police] will be division general Costica Voicu, [former chief] General Pitulescu's former deputy. This will be officially confirmed at Tuesday's session of the government.

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PRO TV reports that General Costica Voicu was appointed to this post by the CSAT [Supreme Council for the Defense of the Country] yesterday. Costica Voicu was born on 5 November 1951 and is currently the youngest general in the Romanian Police.

He began working in the Ministry of Interior in 1970 and, six years later, he graduated from the Faculty of Law in Bucharest University. An ambitious person, he also completed postgraduate courses at the same faculty.

From 1979 to 1982, he worked in the police departments in Ilfov and Giurgiu counties, as chief of the economic section. Then he was promoted within the IGP. In 1990, he was promoted to the position of deputy chief of the Romanian Police and, in March 1992, he received a major general's star on his epaulets.

In the summer of 1992, along with 10 other Romanian police officers, he took courses in the British police system, in Great Britain. He has participated in international conferences on economic and financial crime in Vienna, The Hague, Lyon, London, Madrid, and Rome.

He is married and has a son who is a third-year student at the Faculty of International Relations of the Academy of Economic Studies.

On 9 June 1995, he defended his doctoral thesis at the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" Police Academy and received a doctorate in law. He is the author of the book *Banii murdari si crima organizata* [Dirty Money and Organized Crime].

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Slovenia: Austria's Schuessel Calls Economic Ties 'Exemplary'

AU1904151396 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Austrian Foreign Minister Dr. Wolfgang Schuessel is paying his first official visit to Slovenia. This morning he first held talks with his host, [Foreign Minister] Zoran Thaler. Afterwards the foreign ministers answered journalists' questions at a news conference. The afternoon program also involves meetings with Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, President Milan Kucan, Lojze Peterle [president of the Christian Democrats], and [Archbishop] Dr. Alojzij Sustar. Lojze Kos reports:

[Begin recording] [Kos] At the news conference both foreign ministers assessed their first official meeting as extremely positive. Zoran Thaler particularly stressed the European perspective of the visit as Slovenia expects Austria's full support for the process of rapprochement and our country's integration into the European Union.

[Thaler] It seems to me that Mr. Minister Schuessel is visiting Slovenia at a very appropriate moment regarding Slovenia's European position as well as our cooperation in this realm. We know that Austria supports Slovenia in the European integrations, and I would especially like to emphasize how very much Slovenia cherishes this.

[Kos] Dr. Wolfgang Schuessel stressed Austria's great interest in Slovenia becoming a EU member as soon as possible. He promised that he would encourage European foreign ministers, especially, of course, the Italian side, to open the unfairly closed doors to the European Union for Slovenia.

He also praised Slovene achievements in the economic sphere and said that Austrian-Slovene trade increased by 40 percent last year.

[Schuessel, in German with superimposed translation into Slovene] Economically speaking, relations between Austria and Slovenia are exemplary. To illustrate the importance of these economic contacts, let me tell you, by way of comparison, that we export more goods to Slovenia than to Japan or Russia. For a small market like the Slovene market with 2 million inhabitants, this is definitely a great achievement.

[Kos] The Slovene and Austrian foreign ministers also spoke about the minority issue and the Schengen controls on the border. They will propose the signing of a bilateral agreement that will facilitate a mutual flow and cooperation along the border. They also signed an important document, an agreement on the early exchange of information in cases of radiation danger and on the issues of common interest from the realm of nuclear safety and radiation prevention. [end recording]

Slovenia: Bank Governor Views BIS Ruling on SFRY Assets

AU1904171696 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 18 Apr 96 p 1

[Article by Miha Jenko: "Basel Board of Governors Accepted Slovene Proposal"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 17 April—With the assistance of the United States, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium, the board of governors of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) in Basel at the beginning of this week passed an important decision that we have been waiting and striving for for several years. It asked the central banks of the former Yugoslavia whether they accept the division of more than $500 million worth of assets of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] in this bank on the basis of the IMF formula, Bank of Slovenia Governor Dr. France Arhar said in a debate at the financial fair Kapital '96.

He said that the board of governors, thus, agreed to the Slovene proposal and also that the Bank of Slovenia is making great efforts to start negotiations on the unresolved financial problems regarding the succession. As he said, the National Bank of Yugoslavia pressed charges in London because it wishes to enforce the Russian model of division of debts while the fate of all assets abroad remains uncertain. Bearing in mind that the London case, which contradicts the conclusion of the Badinter Commission [EU commission ruling that all SFRY republics are equal successors to the disintegrated state], could be the reference case for the whole of the succession issue, this latest decision by the creditor banks to continue dealing with us is even more important, the governor said. [passage omitted]

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Federal

FRY: UN Envoy Lodges Protest Against Albania

LD2004151596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1244 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Apr 20 (TANJUG)—The charge d'affaires of the permanent mission of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the United Nations in Geneva Miroslav Milosevic said the speech of Albanian representative at the 52nd session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission represented a continuation of Albania's interference in FRY's internal affairs.

In a letter to commission President Gilbert Saboi, Milosevic said the speech also encouraged the spreading of Albanian separatism in Serbia's province of Kosovo and Metohija which is an integral part of FRY.

The letter was included as an official document of the 52nd session of the human rights commission and is available to all participants.

Repeating Albania's well-known stance, its representative had charged Serbia and FRY for 'deteriorating situation' in Kosovo and Metohija following the adoption of the Dayton Peace Accord.

By presenting the old charges against FRY and Serbia, the Albanian representative had so irritated the session's chairman and other participants that the chairman had to interrupt him and ask him to leave the floor.

Such claims are absolutely incorrect and tendentious, Milosevic said, noting that they formed part of Albania's tactics of trying to internationalize the Kosovo issue at any cost.

By attacking FRY, Albania is trying the hide its own practice of systematic political, economic, religious, cultural and other forms of discrimination of Serbs, Montenegrins, Greeks and other national minorities in its own territory, Milosevic said in his letter.

Pressure on Serb and Montenegrin minorities in Albania has increased recently, including forced confiscation of their land and bombing of their homes, Milosevic said.

He reminded in his letter the chairman and the participants that the situation in Kosovo and Metohija was not a case of violation of legitimate human rights of the Albanian minority.

On the contrary, the Albanian minority, manipulated by its separatist leaders, refuses to exercise its rights by boycotting legal state institutions of the Republic of Serbia and FRY with the aim of creating an 'independent republic of Kosovo,' Milosevic said.

Albanian minority in FRY has all rights—to free speech, education and media in its language, health care, civil, political, economic, cultural and other rights and freedoms without any discrimination, Milosevic wrote.

FRY rejects Albania's attitude towards Kosovo and Metohija as harmful for bilateral relations and a threat to peace and stability in the region, Milosevic concluded in his letter.

FRY: FM Interviewed on Normalizing Diplomatic Ties

AU2004200696 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Apr 96

[Interview with Deputy Federal Foreign Minister Zivorad Jovanovic by Tatjana Lenard; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lenard] Mr. Jovanovic, many countries have lately expressed a wish to normalize relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Why are ambassadors returning to Belgrade?

[Jovanovic] They are returning because the countries that appointed them want to further cooperation and relations with the FRY. With the progress of the peace process and the affirmation of the FRY as the most important factor in this process, all countries, primarily European, but also other countries, wish to establish normal, equal relations with the FRY. This is in the interest of the further progress of the peace process, but also in the interest of a development of all aspects of bilateral relations, primarily economic relations.

In the past 10 days, some 30 primarily European countries, but also a number of countries from other parts of the world, have expressed a wish to upgrade existing relations to the ambassadorial level.

[Lenard] Does the return of ambassadors also mean recognition of our federal state's continuity?

[Jovanovic] It is important to note, for example, France's stance, which is one of the countries which, judging by Foreign Minister De Charette's statement, believes that there is no problem in continuing diplomatic relations between the FRY and France. The change will only be in terms of quality—that is, relations will be upgraded to the ambassadorial level. The United Kingdom's stance is more or less the same. It has recognized the continuity of all earlier agreements between Great Britain and the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as valid in today's relations with the FRY. Therefore, we are not establishing new diplomatic relations between the FRY and other countries. This is not about sending first ambassadors to the FRY, it is solely about upgrading existing diplomatic relations to a higher level—that is, to the highest level known in diplomatic practice, the ambassadorial level.

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[Lenard] The FRY's reintegration into international organizations and institutions is another very important issue. How is this progressing?

[Jovanovic] That is correct. The process is progressing more or less normally. An increasing number of European countries believe it logical that the FRY's full membership in the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] is a prerequisite not only for the organization's universality, but also its success in solving all those issues that are on its agenda, and in this context, all issues that pertain to security, cooperation, and a speedy social, economic, and political development in this part of Europe. Other international organizations, including the United Nations, have an interest in allowing the FRY to claim the place it is legally entitled to, to reclaim its full membership as this is also a prerequisite for the universality of international organizations, but also for success in treating and solving all issues that are on the UN's agenda. As you know, we possess all the prerequisites to be an equal, useful partner to the EU, much the same as in the past. The FRY is not a country that only expects help from the EU, it is a country with enough potential to be an equal partner. Therefore, the interest is mutual and I believe that since it exists, we will find ways to soon normalize our relations with the EU.

[Lenard] Thank you.

FRY: Nine Muslim Refugees Transferred to Bosnia

LD2004214296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 20 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 20 (TANJUG)—Nine Bosnian Muslim refugees were transferred from Belgrade to Bosnia on Saturday afternoon.

The group from Srebrenica and Zepa, two former Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, had sought refugee in Serbia last summer.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said in a statement that they are members of a group of 13 Muslims whom the Yugoslav authorities on April 10 did not allow to leave with a group of 224 refugees.

A total of 796 Muslims fled to the Serbian territory in July last year, at the time of heavy fighting around Srebrenica and Zepa, the statement said.

According to UNHCR information, 546 Muslims from the group have left to other countries, 24 are still waiting for a decision to be accepted by a third country while 211 returned to Bosnia ten days ago.

They were all accomodated in refugee camps in Sljivovica and Mitrovo Polje near the western Serbian town of Uzice.

FRY: Finance Ministry To Determine Platform for IMF Talks

AU1904153896 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's session the federal government commission for liaison with the IMF and the international financial organizations, chaired by Federal Prime Minister Dr. Radoje Kontic, examined a Yugoslav delegation report on the talks with representatives of the IMF and the World Bank that were held in Paris from 27 March to 3 April, the Federal Secretariat for Information has reported.

Following a many-sided and frank discussion of the report submitted by the chief of the Yugoslav delegation, Dr. Dragoslav Avramovic, they confirmed that their mutual goal was that the FRY normalize relations with the IMF, the World Bank, and other international financial organizations as soon as possible, which was one of the fundamental directions of the foreign policy and [word indistinct] activity of the federal government.

It was concluded that the Paris talks opened the process of normalization of Yugoslavia's relations with the IMF and the World Bank, and also that data and information of relevance to the regulation of Yugoslavia's relations with these international financial institutions was exchanged on that occasion. They also concluded that the leaking of confidential information concerning the Paris talks to some of the media had harmed the FRY's negotiating position. The Federal Finance Ministry was tasked to draw up, in cooperation with the National Bank of Yugoslavia and other incumbent state offices, a platform for the continuation of the talks with the IMF and the World Bank.

The federal government will review the Yugoslav delegation report on the results of the Paris talks and determine further activities for the continuation of the talks with the IMF, the World Bank, and other international financial organizations.

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Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic, Belgian FM Discuss E. Slavonia

BR1904150796 Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD in Dutch 19 Apr 96 p 5

[Article by Axel Buyse: "Belgrade To Stand as Guarantee for East Slavonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The authorities of the Yugoslav Federal Republic are to guarantee the correct reintegration of Eastern Slavonia into Croatia. But this cannot be done with undue haste. As the country with the command of the blue helmets in Eastern Slavonia, Belgium must also play a political role in restraining the Croats. The local Serbs must have the time, namely two years, to adapt to the situation. This was the message for Belgian Foreign Minister Erik Derycke on Thursday [18 April] in Belgrade, during talks with Slobodan Milosevic, the "strong man" in the region, and his Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

Minister Derycke's brief visit to Belgrade is to be seen in the context of Belgium's imminent ratification of the recognition of the federal republic. A step which places Belgium in line with the other EU member states. In a way to the displeasure of Yugoslavia, or at least the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, the EU considers this to be a new country born out of what was once Yugoslavia rather than an extension of the "former Yugoslavia."

A somewhat Byzantine difference, to which Serbia and Montenegro attach great symbolic importance. Partly because they link it with the "question of guilt" for the collapse of the former Yugoslavia. A guilt which they believe is shared and borne not just by themselves but also by the separatists.

Derycke and his party were greeted with great ceremony in Belgrade. For Serbia and Montenegro visits of this kind indicate the end of economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation, and of measures which were primarily designed to punish the Belgrade leaders for the armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The results of these sanctions are clearly visible on the clothes and faces of Belgrade's citizens and in the city's rundown infrastructure.

But for Belgium good contacts with Belgrade bring something special. Belgium, with Major General Jozef Schoups, is exercising the command of the military wing of the UN peacekeeping force in Eastern Slavonia. A force which is to consist of 700 Belgian and 1,100 other blue helmets when at full strength.

Giving up Baranja and Srem, as the disputed area of Eastern Slavonia is called, is a bitter pill for the Serbian nationalists to swallow. They have already ceded control over a part of west Slavonia and the area around the town of Knin. Three areas of land which together accounted for one third of Croatian territory and which, under the name of Republika Srpska Krajina, was to have been a part of Greater Serbia.

Any opposition on the part of Belgrade to the agreed reintegration of Eastern Slavonia into Croatia would have posed a considerable problem for the Belgian troops. But Foreign Minister Derycke received from both his opposite number Milutinovic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic the assurance that "Yugoslavia" will faithfully implement all the peace agreements, including those which concern Eastern Slavonia. Yugoslavia is in fact very fearful of a new influx of refugees from the area. Serbia and Montenegro already have an estimated 700,000 refugees from other areas of Croatia and from Bosnia.

Derycke received the assurance in Belgrade that the new Yugoslavia has resolutely turned the latest, least glorious page in Balkan history. And that the people of Serbia and Montenegro will do everything they can in order to revive their economy.

Serbia: 'Scuffles' Break Out at Novi Sad Rally

AU2004150996 Paris AFP in English 1431 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, April 20 (AFP)—An estimated 10,000 people rallied Saturday [20 April] to demand the ouster of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in a demonstration marred by scuffles with police and supporters of the president.

Just as the rally got under way in this town 70 kilometers (40 miles) north of Belgrade, several dozens supporters of the ruling Serbian Socialist Party tried to shove their way through the crowd.

Police intervened to separate the two sides, and the government supporters left.

In another incident, police with truncheons beat Miroslav Negrojevic, a legislator from the opposition Serbian Renewal Movement, witnesses said.

The leader of that party, the writer Vuk Draskovic, accused Milosevic of sending supporters to interfere with the rally.

He also accused Milosevic of leading Serbia to ruin. The country suffered through UN trade sanctions through most of the nearly four-year war in Bosnia because of Belgrade's support for the Bosnian Serbs, and its economy is in ruins.

"The situation has never been worse in Serbia," Draskovic said. He predicted changes would come

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about in December when legislative elections are due in the rump Yugoslavia.

The rally was the fourth organized since March by three opposition parties.

Serbia: Political Opponents Clash at Novi Sad Rally

LD2004181196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Sad, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—The united opposition of Serbia today held a rally in Novi Sad where it announced a joint platform in preparation for the December elections, parliamentary and nonparliamentary activities.

The rally organized by the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), The Democratic Party (DS), and the Civic Alliance of Serbia (GSS) attracted several thousand people.

Speaking about the upcoming elections, GSS Chairman Vesna Pesic said that the opposition was already preparing for them and that it had united "for the sake of the future." She threatened everybody who fails to vote for the opposition to "book a bed in the lunatic asylum."

DS Chairman Zoran Djindjic said that the united opposition was ready to "bring Serbia into the 21st Century, in the service of the people."

SPO leader Vuk Draskovic did not mince his words when denigrating the present authority and the president of the republic, saying that "here everything is going backward, because there is no building—only destruction." He underlined the role of the opposition in relation to the people and its resolve to iron out any differences, saying that people should work together for the salvation of Serbia. [passage omitted]

An incident occurred at the rally in which several people were injured. The unfortunate event took place when a group of citizens—members and sympathizers of the Socialist Party of Serbia—arrived at the meeting in an attempt to express its disagreement with the street policy manifested by the opposition.

A "democratically" oriented group of opposition demonstrators attacked this group by stoning it. These citizens—some of whom were injured—did not respond to the provocations.

Serbia: TV Report on Anti-Milosevic Rally at Novi Sad

AU2004205296 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Apr 96

[Report by Milovan Gacina from Novi Sad]

[FBIS Translated Text] A united opposition rally was held in Novi Sad today. The sunny weather brought many curious individuals and accidental passersby to the rally. Sporting the already well-known symbols, some 10 united opposition leaders took their place on the rostrum. Despite their rather passionate speeches, the opposition leaders did not offer anything new.

Without mincing words, they again attacked all those who do not share their views. Republican President Slobodan Milosevic, the regime, the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Yugoslav Left, and even certain opposition parties bore the brunt of the attack. Several insults were again directed at the state television and suspicion voiced that Radio Televison Serbia viewers would be able to see these events on television.

An incident which occurred at the very beginning colored the entire rally. Namely, a substantial group of individuals—bearing banners—who did not share the opposition's opinions, set out for the plateau [plato] where the rally was taking place. However, opposition members blocked their way in one of the side streets. Following a brief verbal exchange, certain irresponsible opposition members physically attacked the Novi Sad citizens who peacefully wanted to state their disagreement with the already familiar messages of the united opposition. Stones were hurled, stakes used, photographs and banners were torn up. [cheering, jeering crowd in the background] The police intervened and stopped the incident from escalating. After this, the rally dispersed peacefully.

Serbia: SPS in Novi Sad Criticizes Opposition Rally

LD2004192996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Sad, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—The Novi Sad City Council of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) said in a statement that today's opposition rally in that city "only confirmed what was already known—that the opposition has neither a defined policy nor an established objective."

The opposition is changing and setting its objectives on a daily basis, or more precisely, from rally to rally, the statement added.

"The only constant in its policy is its lust for power, without knowing how to seize it, much less what to do with it.

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"By resorting to their easily recognizable method of street brawls in their struggle against the present authority, by using rallies instead of the parliament for a clash of opinions, and by shouting obscenities and making empty promises, the organizers of this rally have yet again revealed their true nature.

"Under the guise of alleged patriotism and in line with a well-known scenario, the so-called 'democratic parliamentary opposition' has preserved the continuity of its behavior, offering discord, violence, lies, and desperation.

"The citizens of Novi Sad know that Serbia does not have to listen to foreign elements. They know the meaning of peace, security, and stability in the Balkans, and communal life and trust among nations. By expressing their disapproval with their slogans of support for the policy of peace, progress, and prosperity, they have reiterated their support for the Socialist Party of Serbia and Slobodan Milosevic," the statement said.

Serbia: Radicals Leave Opposition 'Parallel' Assembly

AU1904140296 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 96 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Radicals Quit Opposition Assembly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] has announced that the parallel, that is, the opposition assembly no longer exists.

The SRS statement says that the parallel assembly, "whose formation was the Serbian Radicals' idea," has stopped functioning because of "the irresponsible and frivolous behavior of the other opposition parties."

The Serbian Radicals say that representatives of the opposition tried to impose "their political views about the alleged danger facing members of ethnic minorities in Serbia so as to ingratiate themselves with the Serbs' enemies and compete with the ruling Socialists in serving foreign powers and their interests."

The SRS deputy group believes that its deputies cannot and must not accept such "anti-democratic, anti-civilization, and anti-Serbian ideas and views of its opposition colleagues."

The statement concludes that the SRS "will continue its struggle against the ruling regime with unrelenting ferocity in line with its patriotic program commitments."

Serbia: Sandzak Muslims Demand Return of Expellees

LD2004212296 Sarajevo Radio Hajat in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On 17 April, The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] for Sandzak held a news conference in Novi Pazar.

The subjects discussed were the free and safe return of expellees from the territory of the municipalities of Priboj and Plevlja; the return [from exile in Turkey] of Sulejman Ugljanin, the chairman of the SDA and the Muslim National Council of Sandzak; and the terrorist attack on the Bajrakli mosque in Belgrade.

The number of Bosniaks expelled from Sandzak has reached around 70,000 and we will set all mechanisms into motion to speed up their return. We believe that the free return of the expelled Bosniaks and the safe return of Sulejman Ugljanin are directly related to the general amnesty law respected by all the signatories of the Dayton Agreement except for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Semsudin Kucevic, the secretary general of the SDA for Sandzak, said. He added that all Bosniaks from 45 villages in Sandzak municipalities bordering on Bosnia-Herzegovina have been expelled.

Commenting on the terrorist attack on the Bajrakli mosque in Belgrade on 15 April, Kucevic said that this act smacks of a synchronized attack against the Bosniak people living in the FRY. This seventh dastardly attack on the Belgrade mosque in the past five years has shattered the uneasy political truce in Yugoslavia and has shown that the current Belgrade authorities were probably behind it.

At the end of his address Kucevic strongly condemned this most brazen form of urbicide and culturocide [as heard], which represents continuity in the state policy of Serbia against the Bosniaks, from Garasanin [19th Century Serbian politician] to Slobodan Milosevic.

Montenegro

Montenegro: PM, Finance Minister Leave for United States

LD2104175096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, April 21 (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic and Minister of Finance Predrag Goranovic left Sunday for a several-day working visit to the United States, the Montenegrin Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

The visit is aimed at normalising and intensifying relations with the United States and leading financial

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institutions, which is a priority of Montenegro's foreign policy, the statement said.

Djukanovic is expected to meet with top U.S. officials and congressmen.

Also, numerous contacts have been planned with officials of commercial banks and financial institutions considered to be vital for the recovery of the Montenegrin economy, economic reforms and the process of privatisation in Montenegro, the statement said.

Montenegro: Group Charges Republic Denied Self-Determination

LD2104191896 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 21 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 21 Apr (SRNA-FONET)—In its 1995 report the Montenegrin Helsinki Human Rights Committee says that Montenegro has never given up its sovereignty. This was confirmed in the referendum of 1 March 1992, MONTENA-FAX [Montenegrin independent news agency] reports.

The Montenegrin Helsinki committee says that by transferring many functions to the [Yugoslav] federation and thus betraying the outcome of the referendum, Montenegro has to a large extent deprived itself of many state attributes.

In its report the Montenegrin Helsinki Committee says that at the referendum the people of Montenegro decided to live in the "sovereign republic of Montenegro" but this has never happened, the report says.

"In addition to losing the rights guaranteed under the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Montenegrin nation and the minority people, who consider Montenegro their common state, have also been deprived of the possibility of exercising their right to self-determination, which implies the right to decide freely on their political status, freely to organize their natural and social development, and freely to make use of their natural resources," the Montenegro Helsinki Committee report says.

In conclusion the report says: "Since the above rights are inalienable and unrelinquishable, the people of Montenegro have the legitimate right to insist on having their freedoms and national, social, and other rights restored to them."

Montenegro: Republic's Foreign Currency Reserves Viewed

AU1904202396 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 95 p 11

[Article by D. Vukovic: "Secret Money Under the Pillow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica—The Montenegrin authorities are not concealing the fact that the smaller of the two federal units has its own foreign currency reserves, however, they would not even dream of revealing the exact figure and the location where the money is kept. We do not even known whether these republican foreign currency reserves are melting away as drastically as those in the National Bank of Yugoslavia or whether anything else is happening to them.

Probed by the opposition about the foreign currency reserves, Montenegrin Finance Minister Dr. Predrag Goranovic, at the session of the Montenegrin Parliament, responded with the statements that very few countries disclose the exact amount of their reserves and that the Montenegrin foreign currency reserves were in a safe place and under the state's control.

Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic was a little more specific, but no more concrete in his interview for SRPSKA REC. He said that Montenegro formed a foreign currency fund "at the time when the earlier Yugoslavia disintegrated and when the central Yugoslav bank could not ensure foreign currency for the requirements of the economy." "Throughout the duration of the sanctions," Mr. Djukanovic said, "the Montenegrin Government supported companies with these foreign currency subsidies. It was greatly thanks to this that the Montenegrin economy, which is very import-dependent, survived. I find it useful that this security exists, especially until the full abolition of the sanctions and the consolidation of the federal state functions."

When asked who controls foreign currency reserves, Prime Minister Djukanovic replied that the Montenegrin Finance Ministry and the government did this.

At the session of the Montenegrin Parliament, Predrag Drecun, deputy and president of the executive committee of the People's Party of Montenegro, presented the assessment that the Montenegrin foreign currency reserves currently amounted to approximately 300 million German marks. In an interview for NASA BORBA, he supplemented this assessment of his with the statement "or perhaps even more."

"Not a single [Federation] member republic," Mr. Drecun says, "has the right to form its own foreign currency reserves, as this is the exclusive prerogative

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of the federal state. Serbia and Montenegro both formed foreign currency reserves. Montenegro formed them pursuant to a top secret government decree and is supplementing them in a manner unknown to the public. Primarily, this involves the foreign currency excise duties on oil and tobacco. Disregarding the legal aspect of the formation, the manner in which the foreign currency reserves are managed is even more problematic. We do not know by whom, how, and under what conditions they are managed. There are reports that, in certain cases, they are paid cash in hand."

Mr. Drecun concludes that Serbia and Montenegro would have given their foreign currency reserves to [National Bank] Governor Avramovic had they sincerely favored the federation.

Kosovo

Kosovo: Albanian Parties Criticize FRY Recognition

AU2004162796 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Seven Albanian parties of Kosova—Parliamentary Party of Kosova, Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosova, Social Democratic Party of Kosova, Albanian National Democratic Party, Liberal Party of Kosova, and the Albanian Popular Party—have sent a letter to Mrs. Susanna Agnelli, chairwoman of the EU Council of Foreign Ministers, in which they warned over the implications the hasty recognition of the self-styled Yugoslavia ("FRY") by a number of EU member states will have for the situation in the region.

The Kosova Albanian parties expressed their dissatisfaction and deep concern over the move, which they call "cynical crowning of the policy of concessions to Serbia." Milosevic's regime and his role as the "policeman of the region" is being pampered, the parties said, noting that those who give approbation to this become accomplices in the serious challenge to peace in the region.

Official recognition of the "FRY" by many EU states, while Kosova remains an unsolved issue, constitutes a heavy blow to the political movement in Kosova and the peaceful policies the Albanians have been pursuing, the Kosova parties said in the letter.

The international community can and should support this movement and not undermine its credibility, the parties said, calling on the EU to acknowledge that the Albanian people of Kosova is entitled to the right to self-determination, pursuant to the UN Charter. Recognition of the self-determination does not mean changing borders, nor does it contradict the Helsinki and Paris Charters, because "Kosova was a federal unit, just like the other republics, which have based on this right become independent states."

Not an autonomy, but rather an international trusteeship in Kosova, is the way to ensure the realization of the political will of the Kosova citizens in a peaceful way, the Kosova Albanian parties said, recalling that the recognition of the self-styled Yugoslavia has been done in clear contradiction to the political will of the (Kosova) Albanians.

Any deal on/over Kosova based on that recognition will be deemed null and void, the Albanian parties concluded.

Kosovo: LDK's Agani Protests Recognition of FRY

AU2204113596 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 21 Apr 96 p 10

[Unattributed report on news conference given by Fehmi Agani, deputy chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo, in Prishtina, date not given: "Recognition of Yugoslavia Must Not Prej ge the Status of Kosovo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tl recognition of Yugoslavia (The Serbo-Montenegrin f eration that is retaining Kosovo by force) is absol ely unacceptable to the Albanians, if it means recognition and acceptance of its integrity and a prior judgement of the status of Kosovo. This is the stand of the Democratic League of Kosovo [LDK] that was put forward by LDK Deputy Chairman Dr. Fehmi Agani at a news conference in Prishtina. Mr. Agani asked the countries of Europe and other countries for the recognition of Yugoslavia to be their only step toward its integration in the international community, while the other steps must depend on a solution to the issue of Kosovo. The external wall of the sanctions in the Dayton agreement must be retained. Kosovo demands and is committed to keeping this international wall standing. The stand taken by the United States is one guarantee, the LDK deputy chairman stressed, considering as important the fact that the United States has not recognized Yugoslavia. These acts of recognition are worrying, and are taking place in what is in many ways a very serious and tense situation in Kosovo. Dr. Agani expressed the conviction that this was a strained and premature recognition. While the human and civil rights and freedoms and the political rights of other peoples are being seriously violated, this recognition is unprincipled and cannot fail to hinder a solution to such issues as that of Kosovo. The LDK chairman recalled that the Badinter Arbitration Commission and a UN Security Council resolution in 1992 declared that, after the downfall

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and disintegration of Yugoslavia, this state no longer existed, and the state of Serbia and Montenegro, which calls itself Yugoslavia, is a new state that cannot be heir to Yugoslavia. Dr. Agani went on to say that if this state that wants to be called Yugoslavia claims territorial integrity under the UN Declaration on the Principles of International Justice, Friendly Relations, and Cooperation Among States of 24 October 1970, it should have constituted itself and behaved in accordance with the principle of the equality and self-determination of the peoples with a government representing the entire population of the relevant region. He observed that Yugoslavia is neither constituted on the basis of these principles, nor behaves according to them. In its formation, an entire people of more than 2 million Albanians and a federal unit called Kosovo were utterly ignored.

The state that seeks to be called Yugoslavia was constituted and still acts without and against the Albanians. In the referendum of 1991 and in their entire political stand down to the present day, Kosovo and the Albanians clearly showed that they do not consider this Yugoslavia to be their state. We recall these well-known facts, Agani said, to remind all states that, even though it is the indisputable right of any state to recognize and establish relations at any level with any other state, to recognize the integrity of this Yugoslavia and to acknowledge the Serbian occupation of Kosovo is in flagrant violation of international principles on which the international community today is based. Mr. Agani said that President Rugova's diplomatic tour through West Europe and Prime Minister Bukoshi's visit to the United States are very important for assisting to secure an international commitment to solving the question of Kosovo. Even after the recognition of Yugoslavia and the statements of several countries advocating autonomy for Kosovo, the political movement in Kosovo will attempt, for as long as is necessary, to encourage a stand by the international community over Kosovo and support for the demands of the Albanians for the independence for which the people of Kosovo declared themselves in a referendum.

Agani expressed the assurance that the political movement in Kosovo will take further steps toward realizing independence. The LDK chairman said that the situation in Kosovo continues to be serious and with harsh repression, while Serbian anti-Albanian propaganda is becoming more intense, always with the intention of legitimizing Serbian rule over Kosovo. Reality belies Serbian propaganda, and shows that, alongside national discrimination in all fields and violations of civil, political, and cultural rights of the Albanians that are without precedence in Europe, Kosovo continues to suffer apartheid.

Mr. Agani later drew attention to the strike of Albanian traders, warning that it could take a dangerous course. He said that the attitude of the Serbian market authorities to Albanian traders and consumers in levying taxes for a place in the market several times higher than those in Belgrade shows in a nutshell the arrogant behavior of the occupying power, the virtual impossibility of the Albanians coping with their conditions of work, the treatment of Albanians as mere candidates for plunder, and their persistent persecution. The strike of the Albanian traders at the Prishtina market could become the kernel of a widespread political and social revolt against this regime of national oppression and plunder, Dr. Agani said. Expressing solidarity with the strikers and their demands, he demanded a speedy solution to the problem. The LDK is ready, if the strikers and the trade unions see fit, to join other parties in other forms of mass protest in solidarity with the strike, the LDK deputy chairman concluded.

Kosovo: Albanian Policemen Reportedly To Return to Work

AU1904180396 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 96 p 6

[Unattributed report: "1,000 Albanian Policemen Are Returning to Work"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Pristina weekly ZERI in Albanian language writes in its latest issue that the "announcements of the return of a number of Albanians to their workplaces have become the main topic of discussion among politicians," adding that "the announcement that Belgrade plans to return 1,000 Albanian policemen to work has attracted special attention."

ZERI has also published the view of the Union of Independent Trade Unions, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, and the Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosovo, who stress that the Albanian workers' possible return to work should be done "collectively, in the same way that they were illegally dismissed."

Regarding the cases in which workers were dismissed from their jobs individually, the trade union and political organizations of the Kosovo Albanians allow the possibility of their return to work individually.

Despite these views in principle, the Albanian organizations in Kosovo do not have a more definite and unified view on this serious problem, ZERI writes, and concludes that if the Kosovo Union of Independent Trade Unions and the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo do not reach an agreement on this issue soon, "the consequences could be unforeseeable."

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